

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

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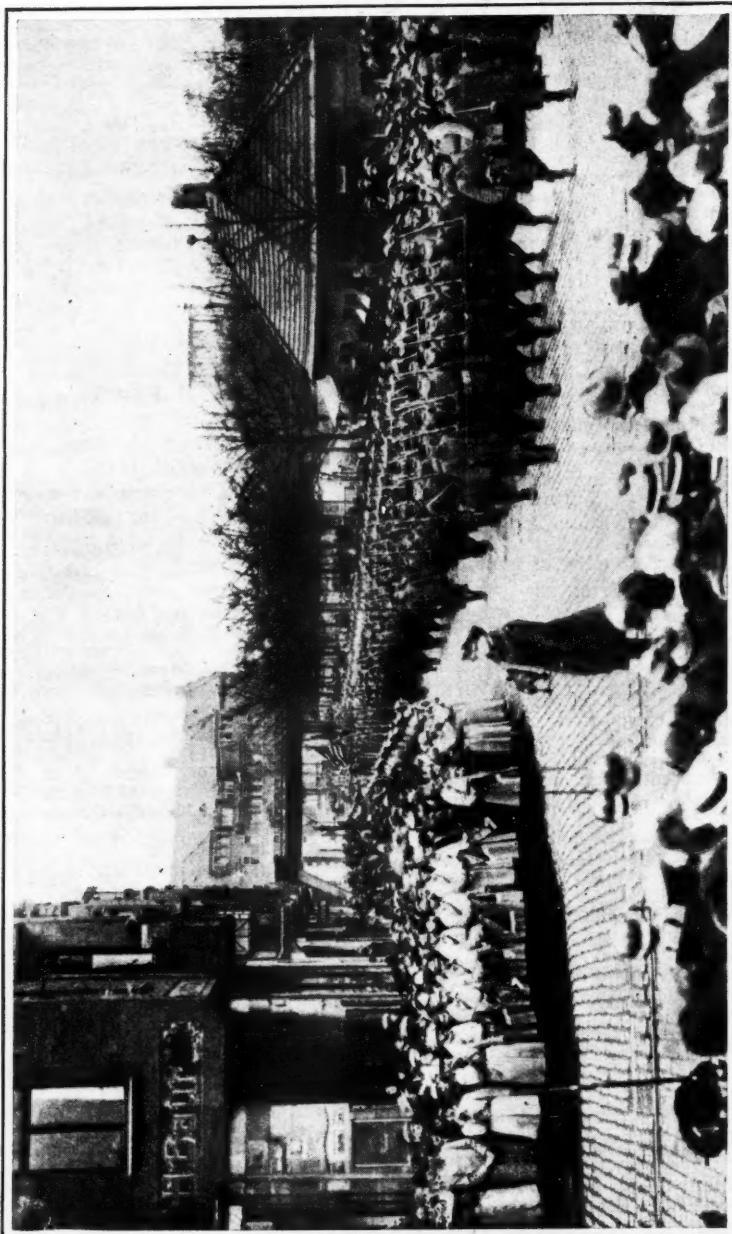
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THE AMERICAN FLAG LEAVES THE RHINE: A SCENE IN COBLENZ ON JANUARY 24

(The withdrawal of our troops from the Coblenz district, late in January, not only brought to an end America's participation in the Allied occupation of the Rhineland provinces of Germany, under the Versailles Treaty, but it also marked the completion of our whole military effort to "make the world safe for democracy." The first American troops sailed for France in June, 1917; the last of them sailed for home in January, 1923)



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THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

Central American Harmony The Central American Conference at Washington came to an end on February 7 with results of the most promising character. Secretary Hughes presided at this closing session and made an admirable summing up of the achievements of the conference. Fifteen documents were signed, including a general treaty of peace; the establishment of an international Central American tribunal; a plan for commissions of inquiry in matters of dispute; a free-trade treaty signed by Guatemala, Salvador, Honduras, and Nicaragua, but not as yet by Costa Rica; an agreement for uniform labor laws; another relating to the practice of the liberal professions; another relating to the electoral system; an agreement on agricultural experiment stations; a plan for the exchange of Central American students; a treaty for extraditing criminals; an elaborate arrangement for permanent commissions on financial and economic matters; a strict and definite limitation of armaments and war preparations, exceedingly interesting and important in its details; an agreement authorizing the United States to delegate fifteen citizens to serve in the Central American tribunal along with the thirty members to be named by the five republics. The two other agreements are merely technical.

Our Second Oceanic Canal Although the conference could not settle the boundary dispute between Guatemala and Honduras, these two countries agreed to submit the question to the arbitration of President Harding, and this was regarded as one of the principal achievements of the conference. These various agreements would seem to be paving the way for an ultimate federal union of Central America.

The conference afforded an excellent opportunity to consider frankly the plan of a ship canal across Central America by the Nicaragua route. Treaty arrangements were fully concluded with Nicaragua in 1916; but Costa Rica, Salvador, and Honduras have some interests at stake that our Government would not wish to disregard. It would be greatly to the advantage of all the Central American States to have Uncle Sam begin work in the near future on this project; and Secretary Weeks states that within a few years the increased demands of traffic will outstrip the facilities of the Panama Canal. The Nicaragua route has much to commend it, and a decision this year in favor of the project would be felicitous in view of the centenary of the Monroe Doctrine. Costa Rica and the United States have signed a protocol relating to the canal, and there will be no diplomatic difficulties of any kind. On February 9, President Harding presented the subject to a Cabinet meeting, and it was found that the cost of the canal would be too great to justify immediate action. Colonel Morrow, who is Governor of the Panama Canal zone, and who has recently been in New York and Washington, assures us that within ten years, more or less, the Panama Canal will not suffice to accommodate the traffic. The Nicaragua Canal project should be restudied carefully, with a view to beginning actual work upon it four or five years hence. It will be worth what it costs.

Unhappy Mexico It is understood that the Mexican Government has begun to provide for paying interest on various issues of bonds largely held outside of Mexico, in accordance with arrangements that have been negotiated between its fiscal authorities and an inter-

national committee of bankers. It is exceedingly desirable that Mexico should at the earliest possible moment resume her full diplomatic status through compliance with her obligations. The Mexican press has recently made bitter attacks upon the United States apropos of the forthcoming Pan-American Conference at Santiago, Chile, which opens on March 23. Mexico has officially declined to send delegates, because her present Government has not yet resumed its full standing at Washington. It would seem that official Mexico is quite too punctilious in some directions and by no means sufficiently punctilious in others. The door to full recognition at Washington is wide open, and Mexico can enter without sacrifice or humiliation whenever she chooses. Meanwhile, Mexico should by all means have appointed delegates for the Santiago Conference.

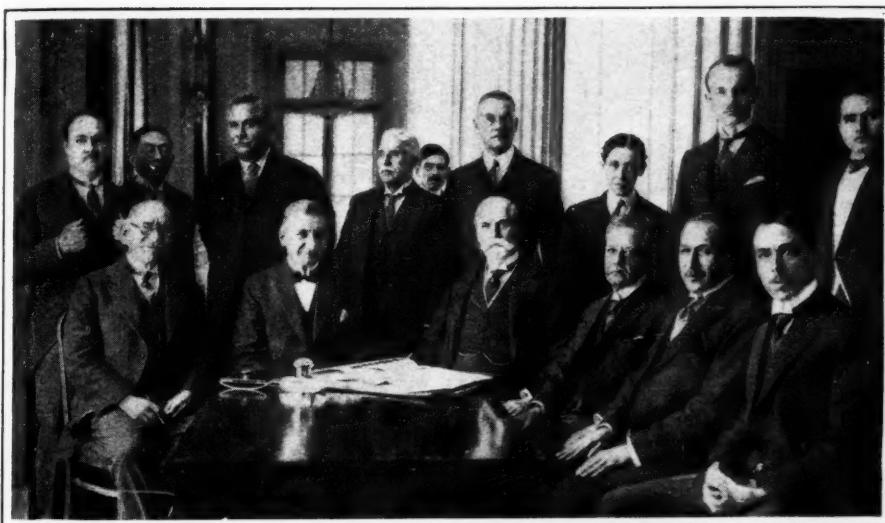
Peace-Making Programs

The presence of Uncle Sam engaged in so promising a work of peace as a ship canal across Central America ought to be of prac-

tical value in what will be the difficult task of giving effectiveness and permanence to the numerous agreements of 1923, as signed at Washington. These treaties are to a considerable extent a revival of those which were made by a former conference in 1907 called by President Roosevelt, with Secretary Root taking the same prominent place on the stage as that which Mr. Hughes has now been occupying. Inasmuch as the Washington Conference on Naval Armaments and questions affecting the Pacific and the Far East ranks first in the achievements of the Harding Administration, it is a matter of particular concern at Washington to have the results of that conference fully supported. Our own Senate ratified the treaties with reasonable promptness, and the British and Japanese Governments followed in due time. The participation of France and Italy in the Conference was not so vital, because these two countries had not been engaged in the competitive building of battleships along with the three great naval powers and also because France and Italy are less concerned



The conferences of Central American statesmen and diplomats at Washington this winter have had excellent results. Boundary quarrels are submitted to arbitration. Uncle Sam is to have fifteen seats in a grand Central American tribunal of forty-five, in which each of the five small republics will have six members. Costa Rica is now in accord with the plans for the Nicaragua interoceanic canal. With the Tacna-Arica question submitted to arbitration, the Pan-American Conference at Santiago will have an auspicious opening late in March.



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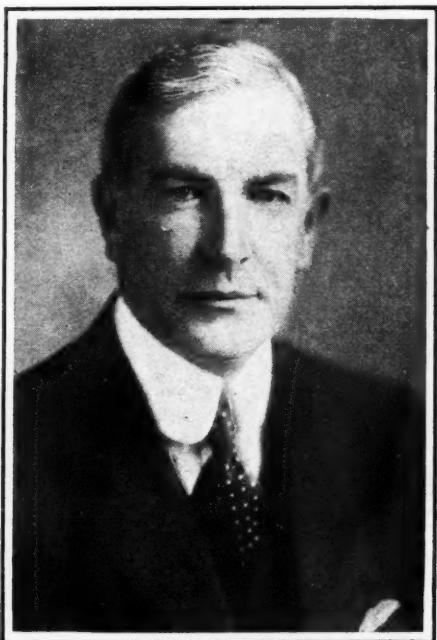
THE CENTRAL AMERICAN CONFERENCE ENDED LAST MONTH WITH THE SIGNING OF A NUMBER OF IMPORTANT TREATIES

(From left to right in the picture above are: Senor General Don Emiliano Chamorro of Nicaragua; Senor Dr. Don Francisco Martinez Suarez, El Salvador; Secretary of State Hughes; Senor Don Francisco Sanchez Latour, Guatemala; and Senor Licenciado Don Alfredo Gonzalez Flores, of Costa Rica)

with the problems of the Pacific. Nevertheless, it has been greatly desired at Washington that all the Governments whose delegates had attended the conference and had joined in drafting and signing the treaties should ratify the results.

Italy and France Will Ratify On February 7, just one year after the adjournment of the Conference, the Italian Chamber of Deputies gave its approval to the treaty for the limitation of naval armament by a vote of 266 to 23. All of the other Washington treaties were endorsed by similar majorities. Our Ambassador at Rome, Mr. Richard Washburn Child, who had just returned from Lausanne, where he had served as American observer at the conference between the Allies and the Turks relating to the Near East, at once visited Premier Mussolini and extended congratulations on the acceptance of the Washington treaties. On the same date, there came an Associated Press dispatch from Paris to the effect that France will also ratify in the immediate future. The treaties have been carefully considered by the Foreign Affairs Commission of the French Chamber of Deputies, and a wholly favorable report has been adopted that is expected to meet with no important opposition.

The Temporary Immigration Laws It will be remembered that for several years Congress committees have been trying to frame a permanent immigration policy. During the war years, conditions both on land and on sea were such that not many Europeans could come to the United States. On the other hand, the demand for military service recalled to Europe several hundred thousand unnaturalized foreigners who had been at work in this country. When the end of the war came, however, it was evident that there were millions of people in Europe who would like to make their way through our ports of entry, and share in what they regarded as the prosperous and happy conditions of life in the United States. Most of these people were from Central and Eastern Europe, the largest single element of them probably being Russian Jews. The public sentiment here in favor of restriction was overwhelming. Not being prepared to adopt a permanent measure, Congress passed the existing temporary percentage law, first for a year, afterwards voting to extend its terms through another year. The plan of this measure, as our readers will remember, was to take the census of 1910 for a basis, and permit annual quotas of immigrants to a maximum of 3 per cent. of the number



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HON. HENRY P. FLETCHER, WHO HEADS THE AMERICAN DELEGATION TO THE PAN-AMERICAN CONFERENCE AT SANTIAGO, CHILE

(Mr. Fletcher, although now Ambassador to Belgium, had earlier seen long diplomatic service in Latin American countries)

of foreign-born citizens from different countries as disclosed by the census returns.

The New Plan of Restriction

In certain details, this law has worked harshly. But as a broad measure of restriction it has not lost public support. The quotas from the British Isles, the Scandinavian countries, and Western Europe in general, have not reached the maximum. The less desirable classes of immigrants from Central, Southern, and Eastern Europe have been effectually limited by the law. The existing measure has been extended to cover the fiscal year that will end with June, 1924. If the advocates of further restriction are successful, the new bill prepared by the House Immigration Committee will go into effect much sooner, and will supersede the existing system. The bill that has been framed, and that its supporters are endeavoring to pass at once, further reduces the annual percentage from a given country from the present 3 per cent. to 2 per cent., and instead of using

the census of 1910 as a basis, the new bill goes back to the census of 1890. These changes are avowedly to give still greater effect to the objects that were sought in the existing temporary measure.

Salvaging the American Stock

In the new bill there are provisions for bringing in members of families and close relatives that are much more liberal than those of the existing law. It is the general opinion, especially in the West and South, that our American population is growing fast enough, and that if we desire to have a fairly homogeneous American nationality we must build up our own native stock, while doing the best we can with inferior masses of population that have already been admitted but are not yet properly Americanized. At the present time, as reported only the other day, there are more than 10,000 people of alien birth in the insane asylums of New York State alone, constituting a heavy charge. At present about half of the foreign-born population of the United States is found in New England, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. The other half is distributed all the way across the country. During the past year, as the Ellis Island records show, the immigrants landing at New York have been taking railroad tickets to the West in much larger proportions than in previous years.

Health and Population

It is no longer possible to deal intelligently with the problem of immigration unless we consider the new factors controlling population tendencies at home and abroad. Ours is no longer an empty country, capable of providing homes and work for indefinite millions of newcomers. We must plan for the natural increase of our own people. Although American families are smaller than they were half a century ago, the decline of the death rate is far more significant than that of the birth rate. Particularly the death rate of infants is steadily declining. Improved health administration had brought the death rate of New York City down to only a little more than eleven per thousand of population in 1921. It was higher in 1922, but remained less than twelve. In 1900, the death rate of the entire United States is given as 17.6. In 1920 it had been reduced to 13.1. In the middle of the last century death rates were about twice as high as at the present

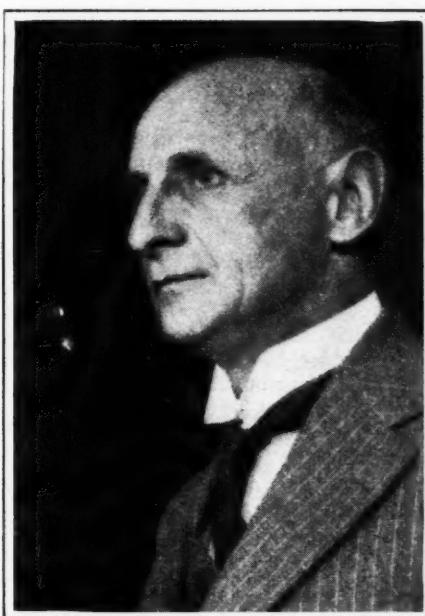
time. British statistics show that the United Kingdom death rate for 1921 was 12.1 for males and 11.3 for females, these being the lowest rates on record. The birth rate in the United States is now almost exactly double the death rate. This would mean an addition to our population by natural increase of from 10 to 12 per cent. during the decade from 1920 to 1930. Insurance companies find a marked increase in average length of life. These vital statistics and their bearings should not be ignored in a broad study of the immigration problem.

*Discovery of
the Influenza
Germ*

An announcement of extraordinary significance was made by radio during the evening of February 2, and repeated in the newspapers of the country on the following morning. It appeared as part of the regular health news service of the New York State Department of Health under the direction of Dr. Hermann M. Biggs, State Health Commissioner. The speaker, whose words were sent broadcast from the powerful radio station at Schenectady, was Dr. Simon N. Flexner, Director of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research. For a long time the bacteriologists of the world had been trying in vain to discover the germ that causes influenza. Dr. Flexner declares that the minute organism has now been identified. This disease in a mild form has been widely prevalent during the present winter. Influenza swept the world as a destructive epidemic in 1918. Statistics have been given to show that four or five times as many people lost their lives from the influenza scourge in 1918 and 1919 as perished in the Great War. This latest triumph of medical science is of incalculable importance to the human race.

*Triumphs
of Medical
Science*

In periods now past, there have been epidemic scourges of smallpox, Asiatic cholera, and yellow fever, which were more destructive of life in particular regions or localities than the influenza plagues of 1889-90 and 1918-23. But in view of the vast areas of influenza infection it is probable that no other disease of an epidemic character has ever been as destructive of human life in any given year, or brief period, as this last scourge of grippe or influenza. In previous wars, typhoid fever was more fatal than



DR. SIMON FLEXNER, WHO HAS BEEN FOR TWENTY YEARS DIRECTOR OF THE ROCKEFELLER INSTITUTE FOR MEDICAL RESEARCH

(Dr. Flexner, who will be sixty years old on the twenty-fifth of the present month of March, has had a professional career of great distinction. He was born and educated in Louisville, studying afterwards in universities at home and abroad, and was a professor in the Johns Hopkins and Pennsylvania medical schools before taking up his present work)

bullets. But the medical scientists some years ago brought typhoid under control. Having detected the typhoid germ, they found preventives just as in an earlier period ways had been found to cope with smallpox. The nature of Asiatic cholera was discovered thirty or forty years ago in the laboratories of Dr. Koch, and we no longer fear the particular malady of which the American people stood most in dread through almost all of the last century. Our readers are familiar with the wonderful story of the discovery of the nature of yellow fever and of the means by which the germ is transmitted, with the consequence that no one on our Southern coasts has any further dread of that disease. It is said that scientists in Europe have made discoveries that may remove typhus from the list of dangerous infectious diseases, though our information is not as yet definite. It is believed that medical science will eliminate other diseases, and thoughtful scientists think that life may be considerably extended.

Influenza Remedies Will Follow

Dr. Flexner is at the head of an organization that does not make public announcements prematurely. Eminent experts of the Rockefeller Institute, ten or twelve years ago, perfected certain methods in bacteriological research without which this latest discovery could hardly have been made. The influenza germ now isolated is so extremely small that for a long time it escaped detection. It is found to be present always in the earlier stages of all definite cases of influenza. The numerous cases of bronchitis and pneumonia that follow influenza are caused by other germs which of themselves would not endanger the lung tissue, were it not for conditions produced by the *bacterium pneumosintes*, this being the name that the scientists have given to the minute organism now brought to light. It is true that finding this influenza germ is one thing, and finding a remedy for its attacks is another. But the isolation of the particular bacterium makes it possible to experiment directly with methods of prevention and cure, and it is quite reasonable to expect that some antitoxin or serum can be found that will be as efficacious as those that now give protection against different forms of typhoid.

Value of Endowed Research

Public Health officers like Dr. Biggs of the State of New York, or Dr. Copeland of New York City, would gladly assure the American public that, quite apart from this latest discovery of the influenza germ, the medical research work of the Rockefeller Institute had already proved itself of inestimable value. Far from superseding public work carried on under State or municipal auspices in hospitals and laboratories, the scientific work of such an institute as this of which Dr. Flexner is at the head, from time to time places valuable knowledge at the service of all health boards and medical officers throughout the United States and foreign countries. Such work not only requires special facilities, but above all it requires the unbroken and absorbed attention of men of high training and skill. Without such an endowment as Mr. Rockefeller has given to the board that carries on the Institute, it would indeed be possible in one way or another to make progress in new fields of medical knowledge; but there is more certainty of continuous and reasonably rapid progress with such a combination

of conditions as the Rockefeller Institute has been enabled to secure through the founder's enlightened generosity.

A Health Board that Serves the Nations

Very few people in the United States are more than faintly aware of the wide range and immense value of the work that has been carried on by the International Health Board, which is another of the enterprises for which the world is indebted to Mr. Rockefeller. The Health Board is not established with separate funds of its own, but is maintained out of the funds of the Rockefeller Foundation, this being the name of an incorporated agency for broad public usefulness that has been endowed by its founder with large sums of money. Its war work in spheres of medical aid and emergency relief was enough to ensure its worthy fame. The International Health Board for some years has been under the direction of Dr. Wickliffe Rose, who was formerly at the head of the Peabody College for Teachers at Nashville, and who has long been esteemed as one of the ablest educational administrators of our generation.

How the Board Does Its Work

Considerable parts of this country, and most of the warmer regions of the earth, are to a greater or less extent afflicted with a malady commonly known as hookworm. Our own island of Porto Rico has a large population that is anemic and inefficient by reason of this disease. The agents of the Health Board, under Dr. Rose's vigorous direction, have been securing the co-operation of our own States and of many foreign Governments in practical measures for curing the victims of hookworm and preventing its spread. A large work in ridding infected districts of prevalent malaria is another of the undertakings of this board. It is inconceivable that anyone who knows the facts and the circumstances could imagine that the Rockefeller Foundation is doing harm rather than good in this international health work. It is invariably carried on in such a way as to invigorate rather than to weaken the functions of the official health authorities.

A "Foundation" Well Directed

The work done by the Rockefeller Foundation in other fields besides that of public health is extensive, and it is all for the good of humanity. The more closely the efforts

of this Foundation are studied by those who are open-minded, the greater must be the admiration felt, not only for the things undertaken and achieved, but also for the spirit shown and the methods pursued. Dr. George E. Vincent, who is at the head of the Board, came to this position some years ago from the presidency of the State University of Minnesota. He had been noted in that State and throughout the Northwest for his high public spirit and his unselfish devotion to the improvement of popular education as well as the advancement of the higher university studies. Dr. Vincent and his associates in the management of the Rockefeller Foundation are carrying on their work with exactly the same regard for the best interests of the American people that they would be displaying if they were working with State school systems or in some other public sphere, as indeed several if not all of them have worked heretofore.

The General Education Board One of the most munificently endowed of the several agencies for public welfare that

Mr. Rockefeller has established is the General Education Board. Its active work is carried on by salaried officers who are at once broad in sympathy and experience and expert in educational affairs. The Board itself is made up of men who are well qualified and are known to the public. One of the most useful of them through many long years was the late Ambassador Page. President Eliot of Harvard served actively for a good many years, and President Angell of Yale is now a member, as are Presidents Alderman of Virginia and Judson of Chicago. This Board during the past two or three years has been enabled to contribute large sums to help numerous institutions increase the pay of teachers. It has also recently undertaken to improve the standards of medical education by gifts along the lines of a national program. It has rendered various timely services to the cause of education in the Southern States, having the welfare of both races constantly in mind.

The Indiana School Survey This Board has coöperated very extensively in many ways with official educational authorities. For example, it has aided in promoting the establishment of high schools throughout the South, and it has done a



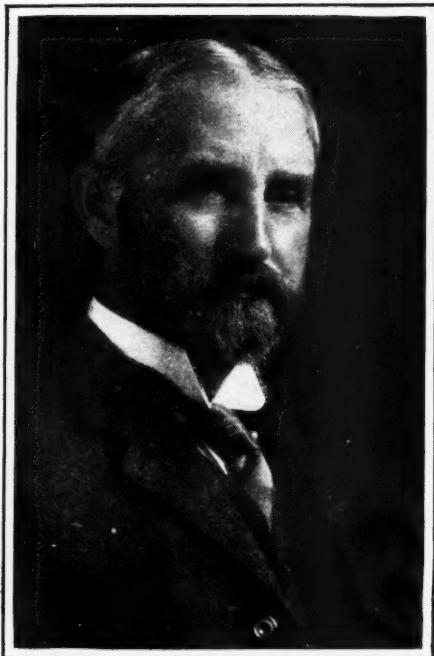
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DR. GEORGE E. VINCENT, PRESIDENT OF THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION

(Dr. Vincent, who was born in Illinois fifty-nine years ago this month, has had a distinguished educational career. He came to New York from the presidency of the University of Minnesota. Previous to 1911 he had for a long time been one of the principal officers of the University of Chicago)

great deal to improve elementary schools for negroes by encouraging the better training of teachers and by providing for competent supervision. It has made educational surveys at the request of various State and local governments. The latest of these surveys is that of the schools of the State of Indiana. This was conducted at the particular request of a State Commission that had been authorized by the legislature to procure such an investigation. The Indiana report does not hesitate to point out defects in the State school system, and the public authorities in Indiana have accepted the faithful, honest, and intelligent work shown in this survey with an equally frank recognition of its value.

The Carnegie Endowments The educational and philanthropic boards endowed by Mr. Rockefeller and commonly known as "Foundations" by no means stand alone in the category of comparatively new philanthropic "trusts." Most of the residue of Andrew Carnegie's



DR. HENRY S. PRITCHETT, PRESIDENT OF THE CARNEGIE FOUNDATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF TEACHING AND ACTING PRESIDENT OF THE CARNEGIE CORPORATION

(Dr. Pritchett, who was born in Missouri, holds degrees from many universities. He attained eminence as an astronomer and became superintendent of the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey. He was president of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology for six years before taking up his present work with the Carnegie boards in 1906)

fortune was bestowed in the form of endowments to four or five such establishments, following his large gifts to cities for public libraries, and certain other forms of philanthropy. A great Carnegie endowment of an educational nature is centered in Pittsburgh. Another, which promotes scientific inquiry and knowledge at large, has its headquarters at Washington. A third, the Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, is carried on with offices in the City of New York. The largest in its endowment and the most general in its scope is known as the Carnegie Corporation. For many years the head of the Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching has been Dr. Henry S. Pritchett, who was in earlier years President of the Washington University at St. Louis and afterwards of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. It would be hard to conceive of anybody more truly devoted to the public welfare by habit of

mind, by natural sympathy, and by the courageous facing of truth than is this eminent educator, scientist and publicist.

Dr. Pritchett Points Out Some Difficulties The particular board which he heads was founded expressly to provide pensions for retiring teachers who had given long and useful service. But Dr. Pritchett has also made this board an agency through which to help the country improve its standards. Some years ago Dr. Pritchett initiated a study of medical education which has been followed by beneficial results of an almost revolutionary character. The report was made by Dr. Abraham Flexner, now of the General Education Board. More recently, Dr. Pritchett has been investigating legal education, and the administration of justice. He has been serving temporarily as director-in-chief of the work of the Carnegie Corporation, Dr. Angell having left that post to become President of Yale. Dr. Pritchett is always frank and out-spoken; and several weeks ago he made a report on the activities of the Carnegie Corporation which showed the public that it is no easy matter to give away large sums of money with the certainty that more good than harm is to result. It would be unfortunate indeed, if the men responsible for these great endowments were bumptious or cocksure. They must have broad intelligence, and must be free from selfishness or arrogance. They must take their work seriously and at times anxiously in order to make it harmonize with all that is best in a forward moving democracy.

Money Wanted for Our Colleges It is quite true, as Dr. Pritchett shows, that the pressure of appeals for money to which the Carnegie, Rockefeller, and other foundations are subjected seems almost overwhelming at times. Yet experience has already shown that it is quite possible to choose fields of undoubted usefulness that will so fully tax the relatively limited resources of these boards that most of the applications can be gracefully declined, all in the day's work through an efficient office force. In recent years our colleges and universities have been developing and maturing at an astonishing rate. Students have multiplied, and methods of instruction require laboratories, libraries, and facilities far more costly than those of a generation or two ago. Since the great Foundations

have been particularly sympathetic towards the progress of higher education, it is natural that the college presidents should disclose all their needs to such wise and helpful authorities as the officers of the boards endowed by Rockefeller, Carnegie, Mrs. Russell Sage, the Milbank family, and others. It does not follow, however, that the college presidents have become mere beggars and money-raisers. Never have we had so many college presidents who were good scholars, public-spirited citizens and real educational leaders, as we have to-day. Colleges are worth while; and to support them well is to contribute to the nation's best interests.

Freedom to Teach and Speak

Dr. Pritchett's remarks last month led to much comment in the press, and gave opportunity for dire warnings of individual critics, most of whom are exceedingly ill-informed. A dozen years ago many good people were afraid that Rockefeller money, for example, would affect the independence of teaching in institutions which had accepted gifts from the General Education Board. Nothing of the kind has happened. Others at that time feared lest the spirit of financial self-help should be impaired. Exactly the contrary has in every case been demonstrated. These Board gifts have always been fractional and contingent. Their express purpose has been to encourage and stimulate independence and self-help. They have helped the colleges build up the support of their own constituencies. It is never the so-called "New York Foundations" that have interfered with freedom of teaching or of speaking in given institutions. It has always been the attitude or influence of some local donor of funds, or some self-opinionated trustee, or some arbitrary college official, that has provoked discord. The method of the Foundations has been such as to help institutions to get out of petty ruts and local subserviencies, and to broaden and strengthen their own natural support. All that the Foundations have given to these institutions in recent years has been but a fraction of the total sums raised, perhaps fifteen per cent., certainly not more. It is the eighty-five per cent. that controls the institutions; not the fifteen per cent. But the conditional gifts have been accompanied with good advice—always accepted—relating to correct accounting and proper custody of trust funds.

Topsy-turvy Thinking Some of our Western States are now spending as much as forty per cent. of all the public revenues accruing to the State, cities, counties, villages, and smaller districts for purposes of education. In comparison, the incomes of the Foundations seem almost trivial. Intelligent leaders in these States are almost invariably glad to avail themselves of advice from expert bodies like the Foundations, which are wholly disinterested. Their helpfulness is not chiefly pecuniary. It is quite true that money put in the hands of boards for purposes of public usefulness might at times be misapplied. It is, however, quite obvious to thoughtful people that aggregations of wealth that are not set apart for public service might at times perpetrate infinitely greater mischief. Nobody has ever found these philanthropic boards contributing directly or indirectly a single penny for influencing elections or controlling legislation. It is topsy-turvy thinking that worries about the mischiefs of philanthropic corporations, in an era of capitalistic activity that needs the leavening ingredient of philanthropy.

Public and Private Activities

This is a country which exhibits at the same time two very striking lines of development. On the one hand we see the rapid growth of public functions. We have a democracy that chooses to expand educational work, health work, and various other community services through governmental agencies. Elsewhere in this number we are reviewing the immediate activities of a number of the Middle Western States. In every one of these States the Governors point out in their messages the enormous growth of public expenditure, as compared with the increase of population. There are real services for social good that private beneficence can perform; but there is not the slightest danger that these can ever overshadow the public activities, or unduly influence them. While we see the remarkable development of public functions—government activities relating to health, education, housing, labor conditions, and so on—we are also witnessing a stupendous growth of the privately directed capitalistic agencies for economic production and distribution. We see steel companies amalgamating in rivalry with the United States Steel Corporation. We see a tendency to regroup railroad systems. We find the

automobile industry assuming vast proportions. We see labor unions pooling the savings of their members to establish large banks. We see farmers encouraged by new legislation to form great marketing corporations exempt from the anti-trust laws.

Business Autocrats Disappearing The tendency is away from autocracy in these business enterprises; and we may expect in the future to see ever-increasing numbers of shareholders, with representative boards of trustees, and with executive officers holding their places by reason of efficiency. The old-time railroad "barons," who were expected to amass large fortunes, have for the most part disappeared. Railroad presidents to-day are experts, who have grown up in the business. We see a similar tendency in other lines of industry, with marked exceptions like Henry Ford. Our existing systems of taxation are tending to break down large fortunes with a rapidity greater than the most extreme Socialists were urging only a few decades ago. Surtaxes on incomes and inheritance taxes will so operate, along with very high wages, as to eliminate the extremely large individual capitalist in the near future, with a few exceptions perhaps to prove the rule.

Workers Must Become Capitalists But since everybody would be swiftly impoverished if capital were not available to perform its functions, it is evident that a great number of small shareholders must by saving and thrift contribute to provide the means for maintaining industry. In due time the spirit of ruthlessness and confiscation will disappear from our taxing systems: not to help individuals amass large fortunes, but to protect the country itself from the impoverishment that would come with the sapping of capitalistic energy. Meanwhile it is wholly for the public welfare, under the conditions of our age, that particular great fortunes like those to which we have already alluded, should have their earning power devoted under wise direction to the elimination of disease and the diffusion of scientific knowledge.

Economy in Public Service Our article presenting a summary of Governors' messages and State activities in certain States of the Upper Mississippi Valley in the

present issue shows that taxation and expenditure are the leading topics everywhere. Several of those States already have income taxes, and several others are proposing to adopt them. It should be noted, however, that Ohio and Michigan last November each rejected at the polls a proposal to levy a State income tax. Everywhere the determination is to cut down public expenditure. Undoubtedly public services of all kinds are carried on too expensively. There are too many office-holders, and there is much duplication of functions. Several of the Western States are realizing that money could be saved if county and local officials were made to do many things that the States have been carrying on through centralized agencies. We are only at the beginning of what must be a long process, with hard fighting against politicians, to stop waste and to put the business of government, both general and local, upon an economical basis. If our officials were better trained, we could dispense with about half of the present number without impairment of results.

Are Farmers "Radical"? The so-called "radicalism" of the West as exhibited in recent political movements shows nothing of a very novel or exciting kind when submitted to analysis. American agriculture is the principal stronghold of the doctrines of private property, democratic equality, and the family unit, that are at the base of our institutions. When farmers use the ballot to promote certain objects, they regard themselves as contending for the things most essential to American stability. There is nothing "radical" in the national and State measures recently adopted for supplying agriculture with improved credit systems. We are merely following the rest of the world in these respects. As for coöperation in buying and selling, nothing could be more conservative in its principles. The agricultural States of the West are now so keenly interested in men and measures that they like to act directly, rather than through intermediaries. Thus in several of the States the question of nominating candidates in primary elections has been resubmitted to popular vote and everywhere the primary system has been overwhelmingly endorsed. If a Republican State convention had been making nominations in Iowa last year, it is hardly likely that

Mr. Brookhart would have been nominated; nor would Mr. Frazier have been nominated in a Republican convention controlled by the friends of Governor Nestos in North Dakota. But the voters are determined to keep the primary system, even though its results may sometimes be a little freakish.

*Primaries and
Next Year's
Contest*

The maintenance of the primaries is a matter of interest to politicians just now because they are all looking forward to the presidential election of next year, with Senators also to be chosen in thirty-two States, and Representatives from every congressional district. It is probable that at least half of the delegates, and probably a considerably larger proportion, will go to the national convention with mandates from States holding presidential primaries. That President Harding will be renominated is now the general opinion of Republicans. He will have completed just half of his term of office on the fourth day of March. If he should go personally into the political arena, using the prestige and power of his office to secure delegates, he might indeed capture the convention; but he would almost certainly lose the election. The lesson of 1912 ought to serve the Republican party for at least half a century. Whether or not the Republicans want Mr. Harding as their candidate in 1924 will be disclosed by the primaries in the great States that gave Mr. Harding his splendid majorities in 1920.

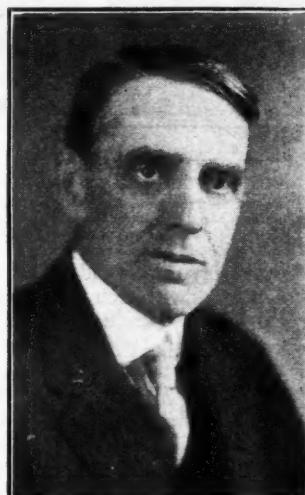
Harding for a Second Term It would seem altogether likely that the Republican voters would much rather go into the election of 1924 with President Harding at the head of the ticket than to try the experiment of winning with some other candidate. It would of course be a different matter if Mr. Harding should for one reason or another decline to be a candidate. The West was greatly offended by the drastic deflation methods decided upon

after the war by the Federal Reserve Board. But this policy, which affected farm prices so disastrously, cannot be attributed to President Harding. On the other hand, the revival of the War Finance Corporation for the purpose of meeting the agricultural crisis has been one of the great measures for which the present Administration may be regarded as deserving of praise. The Capper bill, which was on its passage last month, with virtually unanimous approval, extends the functions of the War Finance Corporation through the remainder of the year 1923. Mr. Harding will not fail to have made the West understand, by this time next year, that his Administration has done its best to restore normal prosperity to all parts of the country, and especially to the regions most distinctively agricultural.

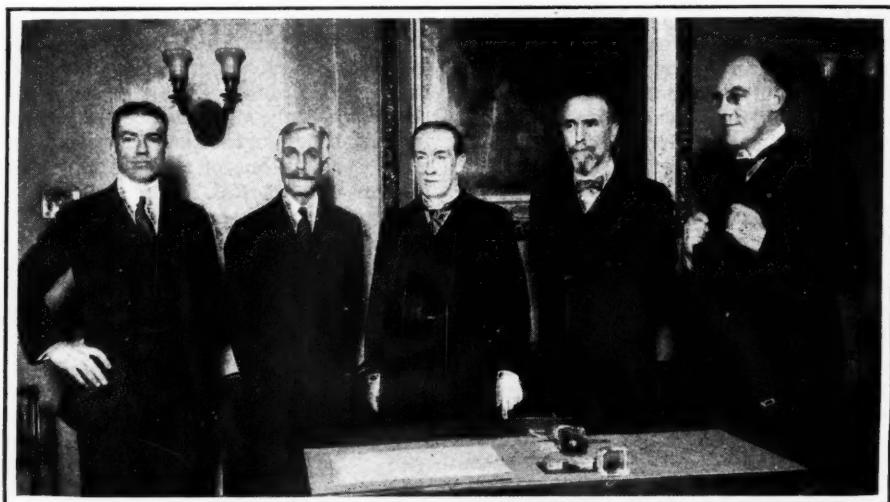
*Principles
of the
Capper Bill*

The Capper bill itself provides in a thorough-going fashion for expanding the functions of the Federal Reserve banks by authorizing them to rediscount agricultural paper having a nine months' maturity. The bill provides various ways by which money may be borrowed. Thus agricultural co-operative societies may borrow on storage

receipts. Mr. Eugene Meyer, Jr., head of the War Finance Corporation, in a recent statement strongly endorsing the Capper bill, shows that present conditions do not justify an attempt to extend credit to European purchasers of American products. As a matter of fact, Europe, though not buying nearly as much as in the war period, is taking far more of American cereals, meat, and dairy products than at any time previous to 1914. Europe, however, is now buying from hand to mouth, so to speak, and Mr. Meyer shows that the credits needed are such as will enable the American producer to hold his wheat or his cotton in storage here, so that Europe may buy gradually through an entire year following harvest. In former times, it was the European habit to take



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ARTHUR CAPPER
(United States Senator from Kansas)



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AMERICAN AND ENGLISH FINANCIERS WHO HAD PART IN THE ADJUSTMENT OF THE BRITISH DEBT TO THE UNITED STATES

(Left to right: Mr. Eliot Wadsworth, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury; Secretary Mellon; the Rt. Hon. Stanley Baldwin, British Chancellor of the Exchequer; Montagu C. Norman, Governor of the Bank of England; and Sir Auckland Geddes, British Ambassador at Washington)

most of the year's supply of cotton or of grain in the first half year. But now purchases are spread somewhat evenly over the twelve months following a given harvest.

*Making the
Budget System
a Success*

By the time we reach the presidential election it will be more evident throughout the country that this Administration has coöperated with notable energy and ability in all efforts to maintain the solvency of agriculture. It is true that the budget system at Washington was not adopted as a partisan measure. But its success depends upon the manner in which the President and his associates make use of that system to save public money. President Harding selected General Dawes of Chicago to initiate the system, and gave him full support. A large deficit for the current fiscal year seemed to be inevitable, but it has now almost disappeared by reason on the one hand of further economies in expenditure and on the other hand of successful efforts to collect income taxes and other revenues. As election time approaches, this seemingly skillful management of public business will have its due effect. The handling of the public debt has involved some enormous Treasury operations, which Secretary Mellon and his assistants

would seem to have been conducting in such a way as to have won the approval and the confidence of everyone who is competent to form an opinion.

*Adjustment
of the
British Debt*

While Congress had preferred to create a Debt Commission instead of placing the entire responsibility upon the Treasury Department for negotiating about foreign debts, it is, after all, the Secretary of the Treasury who holds the leading place in the Commission, even as he was credited with having initiated the refunding law. On February 7, President Harding appeared before Congress in order to ask for changes in the law that would bring it into accord with the terms recently proposed by the commission in its conference with the British Chancellor of the Exchequer. Mr. Stanley Baldwin had made a brief stay, and had returned to London to consult the Prime Minister and the Cabinet. There resulted a prompt acceptance of the American terms. The original loan and the accumulated interest stand as the principal sum, and the only real question at issue had to do with the interest rate. In a later paragraph we are explaining the settlement in detail. At this point we are merely disposed to remark that the adjustment is an affair of profound importance in its bearings upon international

affairs. Its successful conclusion cannot fail to have a large place in making up the favorable side of the Administration's record.

Other Points in the Harding Record We have frequently remarked in these pages that the country adapts itself readily to most of the schedules of a new tariff, and that business men are likely to be more bothered by tariff uncertainties than by rates that are either too high or too low. The new tariff, however great its defects may prove to be, went into effect very smoothly; and it has resulted thus far in yielding a considerably larger revenue than had been expected. Within the coming year it is not unlikely that we shall see some attempts to give effect to the new provision under which the President may alter a given rate on advice of the Tariff Commission. While the veto of the bonus bill was a disappointment in certain quarters, it would be hard to prove that Mr. Harding had not gained in political prestige by opposing a bonus bill which lacked provisions for raising the necessary funds.

Prospective Democratic Candidates It is obvious that the Republicans in the next campaign will have to stand upon the record of the Harding Administration, while the Democrats will have to assume the rôle of critics. In 1920, Mr. Cox had to shoulder the task of upholding the achievements of an outgoing Democratic Administration with which he had not been in complete accord. The Democrats next year are not likely to have a harmonious convention. Western and Southern Democrats are largely dry in their principles, and will stand by prohibition. Thus Charles W. Bryan, the new Democratic Governor of Nebraska, is as staunch for prohibition enforcement as is Mr. Pinchot, the new Republican Governor of Pennsylvania. The Wets will find it no children's play to win control of the Democratic convention, but they will doubtless make the effort. It is reported that Senator Underwood will be brought forward by his friends as a presidential candidate, and that Mr. McAdoo and Mr. Cox will be supported in the primaries. If there are standpat and radical wings of the Republican party, it is quite as true that the Democratic party has its factions. The Tammany forces, with many friends elsewhere, are said to be planning to

nominate Governor Al Smith for President. A movement is regarded as well under way to secure the nomination for Mr. Henry Ford. There will probably be at least half a dozen "favorite sons" brought forward by particular States.

Constitutional Changes Proposed A Senate Committee has reported favorably upon a proposed amendment to the Constitution of the United States to do away with the Electoral College and to provide for the direct election of President and Vice-President. It is also proposed that every new Congress should meet in January following its election in November. This year, for instance—since President Harding does not intend to call a special session—the House of Representatives chosen last November will not meet until the first Monday in December, thirteen months after election. There is more to be said in favor of the desired change of dates than against it. The electoral college, if retained, ought not to be chosen as now by State-wide vote, but rather by congressional districts. The presidency is too important to be determined by the fact that a handful of votes in a single neighborhood of New York State may determine the result, as in the Blaine-Cleveland contest of 1884 and the Clay-Polk election of 1844. In the Wilson-Hughes competition of 1916, the country waited breathlessly for a day or two because the whole result was turning upon the count in remote parts of California.

"Hold-overs" and "Lame Ducks" Nothing fundamental is involved in proposals to modernize electoral mechanisms. Choice of electors by congressional districts would not require an amendment, but could be brought about by congressional or State action. The average man has always deprecated what he regards as the obsolete mechanism known as the Electoral College. An amendment to abolish it, if submitted to the direct vote of the people of the States, would probably carry. It has been argued that if Lincoln could have been inaugurated soon after his election in November, 1860, and if the new Congress could have assembled at the same time, the Civil War might have been wholly averted. It was during those last indecisive four months of Buchanan's discredited administration that the secession

movement gained its headway. This of course lies in the realm of historical speculation; but it is worth considering. Furthermore, when a President is running for reelection and is decisively beaten at the polls, it is particularly distasteful to the country to have him linger on in office through an entire legislative winter. The same remark applies to "lame ducks" in Congress. Mr. McKinley and Mr. Roosevelt, having been strongly endorsed at the end of their first terms, held over with popular support; but Mr. Cleveland and Mr. Taft continued in office through a legislative term after they had gone to the country on their records and had been rejected.

How to Decide Another amendment that has *Presidential Disability* been introduced, though not yet reported out of committee, has Senator Fess of Ohio for its sponsor. The Constitution provides that in case of the death or disability of the President the Vice-President shall assume the duties of the office. This is clear enough in case of death; and five Vice-Presidents have thus come into the White House. But the question of disability remains open. Impeachment is not a proper proceeding, except for malfeasance. Yet the duties of the office are so important and so vital to the welfare of the country that it is essential to have a President in sound physical and mental condition. It is quite as important that the President should be capable as that a general commanding in the field should be in fit condition. It was because of this self-evident fact that the original constitution-makers authorized the Vice-President to assume the duties in case of "disability." Unfortunately, they did not provide a way to reach a prompt decision in a given case. If President Grant's long and painful illness had occurred while he was in the presidency rather than in a subsequent year, this would have been a case of disability. Doubtless Senator Fess had President Wilson's case in mind. He proposes that the Supreme Court shall determine in a given case, at the request of Congress. This may not be the best way to deal with the question, but some way ought to be provided.

Amending the Amendment Clause The Judiciary Committee of the Senate held hearings last month upon a proposed amendment to the Constitution that has

been sponsored by Senator Wadsworth of New York. The chief supporters of this amendment come from the ranks of those who were strongly opposed to the prohibition and woman-suffrage amendments, and who believe that these changes in the organic law were not truly in accord with popular sentiment. The existing method is to pass a proposed amendment through the two houses of Congress by two-thirds majorities, and then submit it to State legislatures. When as many as thirty-six of the forty-eight legislatures have approved, the amendment becomes a part of the Constitution. It is held by Mr. Wadsworth and his supporters that undue pressure can be brought to bear upon legislators and by one device or another, and that there should be sufficient delay to allow the legislatures to hear from the voters. A better plan than Mr. Wadsworth's is that which would require each proposed amendment to be submitted directly to popular referendum in the States. Mr. Wadsworth's plan allows for such a referendum, but does not require it. Meanwhile, the States are already at liberty to do exactly as the Senator wishes, and are likely to move in that direction without any Constitutional changes.

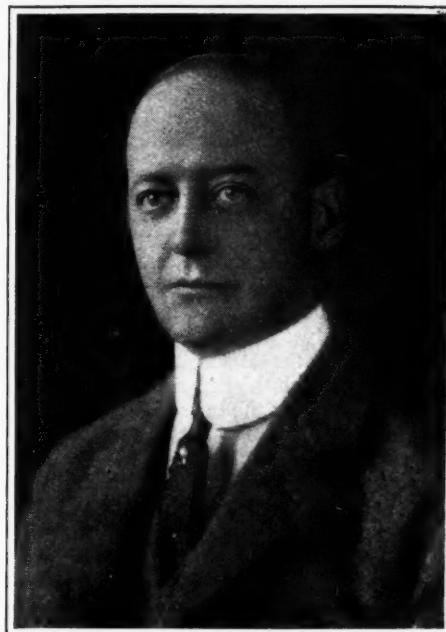
Several Other Proposed Changes Since national legislation regulating child labor has been made invalid by decision of the

Supreme Court, there is a movement on foot to amend the Constitution, with full endorsement of the Harding Administration. A proposed amendment that ought to be adopted unanimously would authorize the President to veto single items in appropriation bills. Many of our States now give such a power to their Governors. Last month a so-called "pork barrel" item amounting to many millions of dollars was added by Congressional committees to the "Rivers and Harbors" portion of the Army Appropriation bill. This was in total disregard of the careful and proper program submitted by the President in the Budget. As things now stand, the President would have to veto the entire Army Appropriation bill, or else submit to what he regards as an improper log-rolling scheme. Many other proposals have recently been brought forward in Congress for changes in the Constitution. The one that is most prominent because of official prestige is that which would subject all Government bonds,

whether national, State, or local, to ordinary taxation like railroad bonds or other securities. There are good arguments on both sides.

Tax-exempt Securities When the Constitution was made, it was considered that the sovereignty of the nation would be improperly affected if States could tax bonds issued by the Federal Government. In like manner, the States were unwilling to have their sovereignty impaired by allowing their securities, or those of their sub-divisions, to be subjected to national taxation or to taxation in other States. It was the consensus of opinion, through long experience, that the governments themselves, rather than investors, were chiefly benefited by these provisos. No serious dissent from this view was ever entertained, until we adopted the plan of taxing incomes in such a way as to impose progressively heavy surtaxes.

"*Tex-exempts*" The pressure for this proposed *and Investors* amendment came first from the Treasury Department; and President Harding supports it, in accord with the demand of Secretary Mellon. The Treasury a few months ago was facing the prospect of a deficit of about \$600,000,000 in the operations of the fiscal year that will end four months hence. The higher brackets of the income tax law, under which the Government takes just about half of the taxable income of individual taxpayers, have not been as productive as Treasury officials had expected. One reason for this condition was found in the large investments that were being made in State and municipal bonds. With so ready a market for their securities, many States, counties, and cities were borrowing money at much lower rates than a year or two ago. The diversion of the investment capital of the more wealthy classes to tax-exempt bonds was causing transportation and industrial concerns to pay higher rates on the money they were borrowing. The smaller investors, who are not much affected by surtaxes, have thus had the opportunity to buy good securities on the basis of a relatively high interest yield. The opportunity has been exceedingly favorable, therefore, for a great increase in the number of holders of stocks and bonds of public utility companies and like concerns. This is desirable from various standpoints. Opportunity to invest in



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HON. JAMES W. WADSWORTH, JR., UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM NEW YORK

(Mr. Wadsworth, who is serving his second term in the Senate, comes of a Western New York family long prominent in politics and affairs, and is recognized in the Senate as an authority upon military questions, agriculture, and economic subjects)

good bonds and stocks that give twice as high yields as savings-bank deposits promotes thrift and helps to convert wage-earners and people on fixed salary into investors and capitalists.

Who Gets the Benefit Many billions of dollars in tax-exempt securities are already outstanding. Obviously, the market for them will find its natural level. If wealthy investors could make their money earn 10 or 12 per cent. in fairly good commercial investments, they might better afford to give Uncle Sam 40 or 50 per cent. of this yield than to invest in tax-exempt bonds at prices which would yield them a net interest of from 3 to 4 per cent. It would seem, when a close analysis is made, that the principal result of removing the tax-exempt privileges from State and municipal bonds would merely be to divert money from local to national uses. That is to say, States, counties, cities, schoolboards, and road districts would have to pay about the same rates of interest as are

paid by business corporations whose securities are gilt-edged.

How Markets Adjust Themselves For a time, certainly, the United States Treasury would derive some benefit, although not so great perhaps as is expected. It is fully agreed that exempt bonds now outstanding would keep their privileged status. These would at once command a higher premium in the market; and the present small holders of such bonds would sell them to the wealthier class of investors, while they themselves would reinvest their money in the new State and municipal bonds issued at much higher rates because no longer possessing the tax-exempt character. With the favorable turn in the Treasury situation at Washington now visible, it would seem likely enough that there will be less urgency and more deliberation in this matter of taxing public securities. The old States-rights scruple about rival sovereignties is of course unimportant. There is, indeed, no compelling objection to the amendment as Secretary Mellon proposes it. We are merely asking whether the law of supply and demand, affecting interest rates and the market prices of securities, will not sufficiently regulate the situation, even without an amendment.

Numerous Amendments Proposed A vote was reached on this particular proposal in the House of Representatives on January 23. The votes of 223 members supported Secretary Mellon's idea and 101 votes were cast against the proposed change. Only five votes more than the requisite two-thirds were thus secured. It is not clear as yet how the Senate will act. Altogether, more than a hundred proposals for amendments to the Constitution of the United States have been formally introduced in the present Congress. Two of them would modify prohibition; one would make the term of Congressmen four years instead of two; one would base apportionment for Presidential electors on votes actually cast rather than on State population. Others deal with divorce, polygamy, sectarian use of public funds, and citizenship of American-born children of Oriental parents. Still others relate to the war power, the tariff, the ratification of treaties, the enfranchisement of the District of Columbia, regulation of coal and oil, and the fixing of tariff rates. One proposal calls for

greater unanimity of Supreme Court judges if laws are to be invalidated.

Agreement on the British Debt On February 2, the American Debt Funding Commission reached an agreement with Sir Auckland Geddes, representing the British Government, on terms for refunding the British wartime obligations to the United States. The original principal of this debt was approximately \$4,075,000,000. Interest had been accruing at the rate of $4\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. and amounted to approximately \$630,000,000. Great Britain had paid in 1922 about \$100,000,000 on account, so that the final figure of debt at the moment of the agreement was \$4,604,128,085.74. It was proposed that there should be paid in cash \$4,128,085.74, leaving \$4,600,000,000 as the final principal sum to be dealt with. This, then, will be the total amount of British Government bonds to be issued to the United States Government at par. The Debt Commission submitted its report to President Harding, and on February 7 he appeared in person before a joint session of Congress and made a strong plea for early and favorable action on this proposal to put in orderly form Great Britain's debt to us.

The Terms of Settlement The agreement provides that the British bonds delivered to us shall run for sixty-two years, with annual instalments of sinking fund payments that begin with \$23,000,000 and increase during the life of the bonds until, in the sixty-second year, the instalment is to be \$175,000,000, these payments on account of principal being arranged so that their aggregate will exactly equal the total debt—\$4,600,000,000. The British Government has the option of making additional payments on account of the principal; of deferring one-half the interest during the first five years, simply adding any amount so deferred to the principal and of making any payments of either interest or principal in United States Government bonds issued after April 6, 1917. The rate of interest is to be 3 per cent. for the first ten years, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. thereafter. The rate of interest was, of course, the crux of the negotiations for the settlement of the debt. The arrangement finally accepted was the one suggested by the American Debt Commission. The British Commissioners had hoped for an interest charge as low as $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., or not more than 3 per cent.

General Approval of the Transaction The negotiations between the United States and Great Britain on this large transaction

were conducted with promptness and in a straightforward manner, and reached a workmanlike conclusion that has been accepted as fair. The manner of the negotiations and the result arrived at both impressed favorably a world which had become weary with international conferences long drawn out, acrimonious and productive of little except new complications. In the general atmosphere of approval and relief, the House of Representatives quickly acted affirmatively on the bill introduced to carry out President Harding's plan for legislative sanction for the arrangement. An amendment provided that the debts to the United States from other countries might be funded on similar and not more favorable terms.

Criticisms of the Rate of Interest The comparatively small opposition to the plan that developed centered on the rate of

interest on the proposed new British bonds—3 per cent. for ten years, and thereafter $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Some critics pointed out that since the United States Government was paying $4\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. on the bonds sold to furnish the money turned over to Great Britain during the war, the settlement now reached might mean virtually the present of a great sum of money, perhaps a billion dollars, to our debtors. Such a view, however, neglects to take into account the probable economic developments of the next half century. It is true that this money is now costing the American Government $4\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. and that during the next ten years the British Government will only pay 3 per cent.; but it is also true that when the Liberty Bonds mature it is altogether probable that they will be refunded at a rate substantially lower than $4\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. There have been periods within the present generation when the United States was able to borrow very large sums of money at much less than $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. and few economists and financiers would deny the probability that such periods will come again before sixty-two more years have passed. It might also be added in a discussion of the general equity of the settlement, that the British will be repaying the debt, from the beginning of the new régime, with dollars worth in purchasing power substantially more than the dollars they borrowed from us during the war, and that for a period of half a century

or more, the probabilities are strong that this consideration will tend to increase rather than to disappear.

Balancing Our National Budget On January 29, President Harding announced at the meeting of department heads held twice a year by the Bureau of the Budget, that the outlook for the nation's current fiscal year was vastly better than at the beginning of the period. Last year the budget schedules showed expenditures for the fiscal year, ending June 30, 1923, \$698,000,000 greater than the estimated receipts. President Harding and his aids have been urging "coördination, economy and efficiency" with such good effect that, with the aid of some unexpected increases in revenue, the outlook seven months later showed the estimated deficit for the year cut down to \$92,500,000. With five months still to go, the Administration was hopeful of wiping out the deficit completely before the end of the fiscal year. Good fortune has been with the Budget Bureau in attaining this remarkable result, but with every allowance for that feature, it is an excellent showing, indeed, and one that could come at no more opportune time as an example for the struggling countries of Europe, which can scarcely emerge from financial chaos until they manage at least to move toward the balancing of budgets. The President also announced that the estimates submitted to Congress for 1924 are \$120,000,000 less than the estimated receipts for that year and \$196,000,000 less than the appropriations for 1923.

How the Revenues Exceed Estimates The remarkable increases in revenue that have helped the Administration to this gratifying result include unexpectedly heavy collections of import duties. Whatever one may think of the new tariff law in other respects, it is proving itself a heavy revenue producer. Although it will have been in operation for only nine months of the current fiscal year, it will bring the total year's receipts, up to June 30 next to no less than \$480,000,000—a figure never approached before. The receipts for September were \$53,000,000; for January \$46,000,000; altogether, \$300,000,000 have been collected since July 1 last, and the estimate is for about \$40,000,000 a month to the end of the fiscal year. Another aid to the Treasury in the past months has been the heavy collec-



DR. DAVID FRIDAY, PRESIDENT OF THE MICHIGAN AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE

(Dr. Friday, who is a distinguished economist, was born in Michigan and was for many years a professor of political economy in the university of his State. He recently accepted the presidency of the agricultural college. He is widely known in the business world as an expert in taxation and finance, and has written from time to time for this magazine)

tion of back taxes through the Internal Revenue Department. The first three months of the determined campaign to clean up the situation brought in \$87,000,000. A third obvious help has been the payment by Great Britain of \$100,000,000 on account of her debt to us—an item that could not have been forecast in General Dawes' budget last Spring.

Ten Billions in the Nation's Stocking Our war debt is beginning to look less staggering. Dr. David Friday, who discusses taxes in this issue of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS estimates in a recent article that the nation added ten billion dollars to its capital accumulations in the year 1922. By this, he means that the production of goods of all sorts exceeded by that sum the total consumption of goods. The addition to our capital is represented, of course, by houses, factories, improved railways, machinery, furniture, motor cars and all the various things required to satisfy the desires of mankind. This huge sum, he tells us,

amounts to three times the annual saving of either England or Germany, before the Great War, and is more than the annual increase in wealth of England, Germany, France and Italy combined. As compared with our total national income, the saving does not seem so enormous; it is probably about 16 per cent. of the year's production. This total income rose as high as \$66,700,000,000 in 1919, according to the best estimates; but agricultural products in that year were valued at \$23,700,000,000 and in 1922 at only \$15,000,000,000. Dr. Friday thinks that Americans, "the great mass of people," probably saved more money in the latter part of 1922 than in any other period. With a substantial decline in living costs and the care still upon them engendered by acute depression, people made thrifty use of the revival of prosperity.

Industrial Prosperity Is Here

This revival of industrial prosperity has been much more marked and more widespread in the opening months of 1923 than in its earlier course. February found the steel mills doing practically all the business they could get labor to manage. The great locomotive and other equipment companies were taking more orders from the railroads and other public utility industries than had been forthcoming for years. The hitherto depressed textile concerns, especially the cotton mills of New England and the new industrial regions of the South, were again active. The building of houses and office buildings, which had been relatively large throughout 1922, promises to be even larger in the present year, while manufacturers of lumber, furniture, cement and various other lines are looking forward to the busiest season of their careers. The motor car factories, which did wonders last year, are preparing again to increase their production. Mr. Ford being geared up to about 600 cars a day, and all the remaining concerns to just about as much more. Merchants at large had such painful experiences in the period of trouble just past that they have recently been even over-cautious in the matter of inventories, and their shelves are so understocked that a revival of buying causes abnormal activity in orders to the mills. The condition of the banks is excellent, with loans liquidated to a degree that seems scarcely credible when one looks back two years, and reserve ability to supply credit for the conduct of business operations in

extraordinary volume. Even the railroads had some success, in January and February, in holding down expenses sufficiently to leave some net income out of the record-making gross receipts. If they can be managed in a way that will allow them to sell their shares, rather than bonds, for raising a reasonable portion of the billion dollars a year they need to give adequate service—there is a period of real prosperity before us.

Europe and Asia in Turmoil

Our readers will find in this number of the REVIEW two articles upon the situations in Europe and the Near East that are entitled to the most careful study. Mr. Simonds, whose noteworthy article last month on the invasion of the Ruhr made a profound impression throughout the United States, further develops the situation on the Rhine in this month's article, giving particular attention to the economic factors and to the future of European industry. A section of his article deals with the Turkish demands and the Near East Conference at Lausanne. Mr. William T. Ellis, meanwhile, contributes an article written in immediate contact with the personages and circumstances of the historic gathering in the Swiss city. He helps us to see the meaning of the new Turkey with the old Christian populations exterminated or expelled. He describes the nature and extent of the Armenian tragedy. He tells us what the exchange of Greek and Turkish populations, that has now been agreed upon at Lausanne, is going to mean, when the pathetic migrations are fully under way two months hence. Mr. Ellis, through much previous experience in the Orient, understands better than most men the profound changes that are taking place in the Mohammedan world.

Is There to Be War in the East?

The "close-up" pictures that Mr. Ellis gives us are in accord with the logical analyses presented by Mr. Simonds of the international complications that form in point of fact a continuation of the Great War struggle. Mr. Ellis shows the Orient to be very friendly toward Americans but very hostile toward the British. Mr. Simonds, in a letter accompanying the return of his proof sheets, says that while he does not think that the Turkish situation is likely to result in immediate war, it is, nevertheless, serious—not so much because of any local condition at Smyrna or Constantinople as because of

the danger of widespread complications. Some of the observations in this letter we may well quote here as of February 13:

The reports from the Near East continue to be alarming and would seem to suggest that the Turk is planning open hostilities, not alone upon the Greeks and their British allies, but upon the French and Italians as well. Yet despite the obvious dangers of the situation it is a safe conjecture that the Turk is mainly bluffing. He doesn't want war, he is only striving to exploit the greater fear of war of his opponents.

You must see that while a Turkish affair with Great Britain would, if it could be localized, amount to nothing as a war and lead to another Turkish defeat, there is no human certainty of any localization. In Asia the thing might easily spread from the Straits and Constantinople through Mesopotamia and Persia to India and through Syria and Palestine to Egypt. Russia would be sure to use all of its resources to support the Turk.

Moreover, in Europe, if the Greek fought the Turk, the Bulgar might attack the Greek to regain lost lands, and then the Jugoslav and the Rumanian would oppose the Bulgar, who could hope for aid from the Magyar. The entrance of Jugoslavia would move both the Italian and the Albanian, while the intermixture of the Magyar would affect the Czechoslovakian. Russia might be moved to strike Rumania to regain Bessarabia, and that would bring Poland in; but if Poland were engaged Lithuania would be sure to seek to retake Wilna.

So, after all, the somber fact is that the present central European situation is a house of cards, and no human eye can foresee the possible extension of a new conflict.

That is why Europe falters and acts feebly before the Turk. Moreover, the Turk is encouraged by the jealousies between the British and the French, the Greeks and the Italians, which throw the Italians with the Turks and against the British. He is further encouraged by conditions on the Rhine.

He is taking the same risk the Austrians took when nearly nine years ago they resorted to their grand bluff in dealing with Serbia, which led to the World War and to Austrian ruin. Conceivably, the consequences of the Turkish gesture may be equally catastrophic, though this is hardly likely. Yet even if war is avoided now, as I believe it will be, we shall still be very far from a condition of stable peace.

The truth is that the Turk has exposed the paralysis of Europe, its weakness and its incapacity for co-operation. He is bound therefore to exploit this situation to his own advantage; and the real target of all his intrigue must be the British, whose vital imperial interests are in the Near and Middle East.

Avoidance of war at the moment, then, cannot mean peace save for a limited period. The Mohammedan world is in revolt not only against the whole West, but directly against the British. This struggle promises to be one of the most important circumstances in contemporary history for several decades to come. Moreover, although war at the moment is unlikely, it is not impossible.

Thus, it seems to me, the Near Eastern events are one more striking bit of testimony corroborating the view that we are actually in the midst of a worldwide convulsion which may endure for many years yet, and which to-day shows not the smallest sign of being terminated.



THE FRENCH ARMY IN CONTROL OF ESSEN

(The heart of Germany's iron and steel manufacturing, and home of the famous Krupp works, was entered by French troops on January 10, under command of General Rampont, who is the officer wearing the cape in this picture)

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From January 15 to February 13, 1923)

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

January 19.—The Senate passes the Capper Agricultural Credits bill providing for the organization of co-operative credit associations.

The House passes the Army bill, appropriating \$333,000,000, of which \$56,000,000 is for river and harbor work, an increase of \$19,500,000 over the Appropriations Committee estimate, and \$27,000,000 more than the Bureau of the Budget recommended; a standing army of 125,000 men is provided for, with 12,000 officers.

January 23.—The House votes 223 to 101 to submit to the States an amendment to the Constitution which will permit the Federal Government to tax income received from State and local securities, and allow the State to tax income received from Government securities.

January 24.—In the Senate, the Norbeck bill to appropriate \$250,000,000 for European credits in purchasing farm products is unanimously reported by the Agricultural Committee, with recommendation that it be added as a rider to any bill likely to be acted on.

January 25.—The House votes 204 to 77 to exonerate Attorney-General Daugherty, declaring baseless the recent impeachment charges brought by Mr. Keller (Rep., Minn.).

January 31.—The House passes the Federal Radio Control bill, giving the Department of Commerce broad powers for regulating and supervising wireless communication.

February 1.—In the Senate, there is sharp debate over the funding of the British debt.

February 2.—The Senate passes the Lenroot-Angus farm credit bill by vote of 69 to 0; it provides maximum credit of \$1,320,000,000 for agricultural loans through the Farm Loan system.

February 5.—In the Senate, Mr. Borah (Rep., Idaho) introduces a bill to do away with "five to four" decisions of the Supreme Court and require at least seven judges to concur where the constitutionality of an act of Congress is questioned. Mr. Watson (Rep., Ind.), a recognized spokesman for his party, declares that the 1924 Republican National Convention will renominate President Harding without opposition.

The House Committee on Immigration approves new restrictive legislation which would exclude immigrants not eligible to citizenship [Asiatics] and reduce to 2 per cent.—from 3—the ratio of arrivals from other countries.

February 7.—Before a joint session of Congress, President Harding appears in person, despite convalescence from influenza, and requests immediate ratification of the British debt funding settlement by amendment of the Funding act and also asks for a decision by the Senate on the ship subsidy bill.

February 8.—The Senate, 46 to 35, accepts the House figure of \$50,000,000 for river and harbor work, after many attempts to reduce the appropriation.

February 9.—In the House, the amended Debt Funding act is passed, by vote of 291 to 44, providing for payment of the British debt [\$4,600,000,000] within sixty-two years; 43 Democrats vote against the bill and 63 for it.

AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

January 17.—Governor Alfred E. Smith of New York pardons James J. ("Jim") Larkin, the Irish labor agitator, who had been convicted of criminal anarchy and was serving a five-year term.

January 22.—Governor George S. Silzer dismisses the Highway Board of New Jersey, which he will replace with a smaller board of three members, stating that \$1 a square yard over the proper cost has been paid for "patent paving."

January 24.—Edward T. Sanford, of Tennessee, long a District Judge, is appointed to succeed Justice Pitney on the United States Supreme Court.

Under guidance of the United States Coal Commission, bituminous miners and operators agree to a new wage scale for one year after April 1 in the tri-State competitive field; \$7.50 a day for day work and \$1.08 a ton on the tonnage basis are outstanding points of agreement.

January 25.—The open hearing on Ku Klux Klan outrages in Morehouse Parish, La., ends with a statement by Attorney-General Coco that since the advent of the Klan there has been a reign of terror.

January 26.—Mayor W. H. Thompson, of Chicago, announces he will not be a candidate to succeed himself; and Fred Lundin (the other half of the Chicago political machine) is indicted with officials of the Board of Education for fraud.

January 29.—The New York State Senate votes 27 to 17 to petition Congress for modification of the Volstead Act so as to permit light wines and beer.

Robert W. Bliss of New York is named Minister to Sweden, succeeding Ira Nelson Morris, resigned, and J. Butler Wright succeeds Mr. Bliss as Third Assistant Secretary of State; Philip Elting, of Kingston, N. Y., is named as Collector of Customs for the Port of New York.

Governor William E. Sweet of Colorado disbands the State Rangers, effective February 1.

January 30.—The Kansas Senate memorializes the federal government, urging it to recognize the Obregon Government of Mexico, at the request of State Senator Schleimer of Arizona, who has induced the legislatures of North and South Dakota, Minnesota and Wisconsin to adopt the resolution.

January 31.—Customs officials estimate that duties collected in the current fiscal year should exceed \$480,000,000 by June 30; nearly \$300,000,000 has already been received.

February 7.—Col. Frederick Stuart Greene is confirmed as head of the New York State Highway Commission, after opposition due to his contribution of an anonymous magazine article on "Highways and Highwaymen," in which he exposed some practices of politicians.

February 10.—The soldiers' compensation measure adopted by people of North Dakota in November is declared unconstitutional by the State Supreme Court.

FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

January 17.—The commission on foreign affairs of the French Chamber of Deputies adopts the report of Deputy Raynaldy favoring ratification of the Washington Conference agreement concerning the Pacific.

January 18.—The French Chamber, voting 371 to 143, suspends parliamentary immunity of M. Cachin, the Communist Deputy, and he is arrested for taking part in a Communist demonstration at Essen.

January 21.—Colonel Plastiras, head of the present Greek Government, decrees amnesty to all political offenders except those condemned.

January 22.—A young female anarchist in Paris



© Underwood

ONCE MORE THE BELGIAN ARMY TAKES THE FIELD

(There has been much in the cable dispatches about French troops occupying the Ruhr Valley, but little of the Belgians who have acted in concert. The picture shows a squad of Belgian soldiers who have thrown up earthworks around their machine gun, near the German city of Essen)

shoots M. Leon Daudet's assistant, in a plot to kill the noted Royalist himself.

February 1.—At Mexico City, trolley car strikers riot and are subdued by Yaqui soldiers; fourteen are killed and thirty wounded.

February 2.—Irish rebels burn a number of famous houses, some the homes of members of the Southern Parliament.

Premier William Morris Hughes of Australia resigns, the last of the war premiers.

February 4.—At Klagenfurt, Austria, General Ludendorff is mobbed by Socialist workmen, who, calling him "Germany's grave digger," prevent him from speaking.

February 5.—At Peking, Huang Fu is appointed Acting Foreign Minister, succeeding Dr. Alfred Sze, former Minister to the United States, resigned.

February 7.—Irish incendiarism continues, despite the conference of representatives of 5,000 Irish Republican Army veterans, who have held themselves neutral since the treaty, to find a solution of South Ireland's difficulties.

February 9.—Italian authorities continue to round up Communists, capturing also their cipher code.

The Irish Free State offer of amnesty to rebels who surrender immediately is refused by Liam Lynch, Chief of Staff.

February 10.—The Italian Chamber of Deputies ratifies the Santa Margherita agreement on Dalmatia, ending the controversy with Jugoslavia.

February 11.—In County Cork, a group of Irish rebels surrender their arms under the amnesty offer of the Free State Government.

THE RUHR EPISODE

January 15.—Ambassador Jusserand announces that there are 45,000 French troops in the Ruhr Valley and that all of them are white men.

At Bochum, in the Ruhr, a German riot against French occupation results in the death of one German and the wounding of two others.

January 16.—Italy offers to mediate between Germany and France, the proposals embracing economic control of the Ruhr and a commercial alliance with Germany.

The Reparation Commission declares Germany in default on deliveries of coal and cattle, the coal default being based on Germany's note of January 12 refusing to deliver or pay for reparations coal so long as the Ruhr is occupied.

January 17.—French headquarters at Duesseldorf announce completion of Ruhr invasion, with 100,000 troops engaged in the movement.

January 18.—General Degoutte promulgates an order of the Rhineland High Commission authorizing seizure by the Allies of customs receipts, state forests, and coal taxes.

January 19.—French troops arrest Dr. Schultius, German Ruhr Treasurer, for refusing to reveal tax arrangements, and seven mine and coke furnace directors are also held; 14,000 tons of coal en route for unoccupied Germany are turned back to the Ruhr and directed to France.

January 24.—American troops at Coblenz leave the fortress of Ehrenbreitstein and go to Antwerp to return to the United States.

German industrialists in the Ruhr are fined

307,000 francs by French court martial for refusing to obey orders to deliver coal; the French deny that there are colored troops in the Ruhr.

January 26.—The Reparation Commission declares Germany in general default in all reparations to France and Belgium under the Versailles Treaty; the British member refrains from voting.

January 27.—All railroad traffic in the Ruhr is tied up by a strike of German workmen. . . . The Coblenz district is officially transferred by Major-Gen. Henry T. Allen to the French General, Marty.

January 29.—French authorities on the Ruhr begin to deport recalcitrant officials, sending about 100 to unoccupied Germany; German marks fall below Polish marks for the first time and are quoted at 40,000 to the dollar.

January 31.—All coal from the Ruhr district is cut off from unoccupied Germany, which depends on those mines for 80 per cent. of its supply; the move retaliates for German failure to pay 500,000,000 gold marks due on January 31, after refusal of Germany's moratorium demands. French troops seize all Ruhr customs.

February 1.—Organized workmen in Germany, said to represent twelve million, petition the United States Congress to assert American honor to save Europe and the world from inevitable disaster.

February 2.—Major-Gen. Henry T. Allen is withdrawn as American unofficial observer on the International Rhineland High Commission.

The Ruhr railroad strike and the Essen post-office strike are called off by the German authorities.

February 4.—The French cut the main railroad line between Carlsruhe and Basle, Switzerland, by occupying from the Kehl bridgehead the junctions at Offenburg and Appenweier, in reprisal for German stoppage of international express trains to Paris from Prague and Bucharest.

Germany protests to Paris against the coal blockade applied to unoccupied Germany.

February 5.—German workers in the Saare Valley coal mines—operated by France under the Versailles Treaty—strike for double wages, and the agreement reported reached by the League authorities is rejected on referendum.

The French announce that sabotage on railroads will be punished by death.

February 8.—While representatives of 100,000 coal miners of Northern France meet at Douai to agree with owners on a 15 per cent. increase in wages, 22,000 Lorraine miners quit because their demands of a month ago for an increase have not been met.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

January 15.—The British Debt Funding Commission is understood to have offered 3 per cent., instead of 5 per cent. as agreed during the war, with extension of debt payments over fifty years, as terms for meeting the war debt to the United States.

At the Lausanne conference on Near East affairs, America demands most-favored nation treatment and equality with Turkish citizens in all matters of commerce, business education, charity, and religion.

January 19.—The Permanent World Court announces that four Allied powers have submitted to it the case concerning freedom of the Kiel Canal involved in Germany's refusal to permit passage of the S. S. *Wimbledon* on March 21, 1921; Article

380 of Versailles Treaty states that the "Kiel Canal and its approaches shall be maintained free and open to vessels of commerce and war of all nations at peace with Germany on terms of entire equality."

January 23.—Lord Curzon (British) refuses at Lausanne to recede from his demand for recognition, by the Nationalist government in Turkey, of the oil-land concession at Mosul granted by the old government.

The Reparation Commission allocates the unsecured debts of Austria, 36.82 per cent. to her, 4.08 to Italy, 18.78 to Poland, 1.61 to Rumania, 2.04 to Serbia, and 41.70 per cent. to Czechoslovakia, assumed as of July 16, 1920. . . . The Hungarian unsecured debt is divided, 45.73 per cent. to Hungary, 21.80 to Rumania, 14.11 to Serbia, 16.02 to Czechoslovakia, 1.25 to Austria, and .74 per cent. to the State of Fiume, as of July 26, 1921. . . . The secured debt of Austria-Hungary, based mostly on railways, is distributed among the states in proportion to the security.

January 26.—Bulgaria refuses the Allied offer of a port near Dedeagatch, under a lease, with international control of the railroad, claiming she must have complete sovereignty over the Aegean port and the Maritza River corridor from Bulgaria to the sea.

January 27.—At Lausanne, M. Bompard, endorses for the Allies the "open door" principle urged by the United States, declaring Turkey is not obliged to follow the advice of the Council on the Ottoman debt with reference to concessions.

January 29.—The Council of the League of Nations begins its twenty-third session at Paris, and considers revision of the much criticized Article X of the Covenant, guaranteeing members against external aggression.

January 31.—The British Cabinet decides to accept American terms for payment of the war loans, which now amount with interest to \$4,604,128,085.74; 3 per cent. interest is to be paid until December 15, 1932, and 3½ per cent. thereafter.

The League Council decides to convene a conference of all naval powers not signers of the Washington Conference naval agreements, to extend the disarmament; Czechoslovakia and Hungary accept the Council's offer of mediation in their boundary dispute.

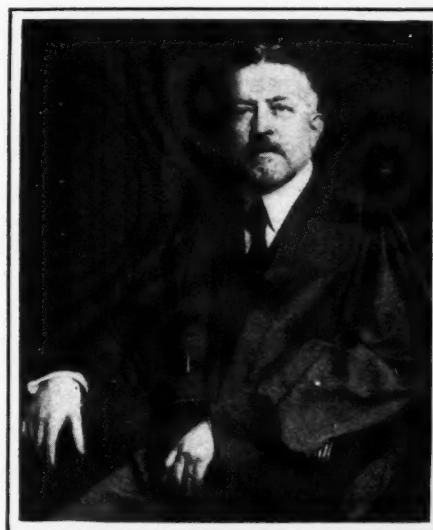
February 1.—The Allies give Lithuania an ultimatum to evacuate, by February 8, the recently invaded Memel district—formerly German territory, now under Allied control.

February 2.—Italy resumes military operations in Tripoli, sending four columns against Tarhuma in the southeast of Tripoli.

A tentative agreement for funding the British debt is signed and sent to President Harding by the American Debt Funding Commission and Ambassador Geddes.

February 3.—The Lithuanian representative in the League Council declares that Lithuania will use force if Poland occupies part of the Vilna neutral zone under a decision of the League Council, but he is sharply rebuked by M. Viviani, who threatens commercial and diplomatic isolation under Article XVI if Lithuania breaks the Covenant.

At Lausanne, the Allies compromise on capitulations, proposing that Turkey reform her laws under advice of counselors to be chosen by the permanent



EDWARD T. SANFORD, APPOINTED ASSOCIATE JUSTICE OF THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT

(Judge Sanford has had a long and distinguished career on the bench, in the United States District Court of Tennessee, serving there nearly fifteen years. Previously he had been for a short time Assistant Attorney-General of the United States, and earlier still he had been a lecturer in the law department of the University of Tennessee, where he was graduated in 1883. Judge Sanford is now appointed by the President to the Supreme Court to succeed Justice Mahlon Pitney, who retires on account of ill health)

Court of International Justice and that these counselors act as intermediaries between foreigners and the Turkish courts; reparations to the Allies are reduced from 15,000,000 to 12,000,000 Turkish gold pounds.

February 4.—The Lausanne conference ends in disagreement; the Turks reject the Allied treaty draft and refuse to recognize contracts and concessions granted by the old Ottoman Empire; they want judicial counselors chosen, not by the Hague Court but by nations not in the war, and they refuse to give such advisers control over arrests or searches of foreigners.

February 6.—The Washington Conference treaties are ratified by the Italian Chamber of Deputies.

February 7.—The Turkish demand that Allied warships leave Smyrna is met by joint refusal by Britain and France.

The Central American Conference, at Washington, ends with signature of a general treaty of amity and commerce, and conventions for establishment of an international tribunal and limitation of armaments with nine other conventions and three protocols. Guatemala and Honduras submit their boundary dispute to President Harding for arbitration.

February 8.—Costa Rica and the United States announce an agreement by which Costa Rica's rights in the San Juan River and Salinas Bay are recognized, thus paving the way for an interoceanic canal through Lake Nicaragua.

February 11.—France and Belgium notify Germany that, effective to-morrow, all exportation from the Ruhr to unoccupied Germany will cease.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

January 15.—The University of Chicago elects as president Ernest DeWitt Burton, now head of the Department of the New Testament; Dr. Judson becomes president emeritus.

January 16.—Arkansas farmers at Harrison lynch a union railroad striker and Governor McRae orders martial law in the districts affected by the strike, which has lasted two years and has cut off everybody on a 200-mile route from all railroad communication.

January 19.—A memorial statue "Sacrifice" is dedicated at New York in memory of Robert Bacon, former Secretary of State; it is the figure of a Crusader in full armor, his head resting in the lap of a kneeling woman, and was designed by Miss Malvina Hoffman.

Five union miners, accused of complicity in the killing of twenty-one non-union workers at Herrin, Ill., are acquitted.

January 22.—The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers purchases a controlling interest in the Empire Trust Company of New York City in order to facilitate metropolitan transactions of the main coöperative bank at Cleveland.

January 30.—At Newark, N. J., Centre Market, in the heart of the city, is burned with a loss of \$500,000.

February 1.—An explosion in the gas plant at Springfield, Mass., causes the death of three persons and property damage amounting to \$300,000.

February 3.—Hilo Bay, Island of Hawaii, is swept by a series of tidal waves, and other islands in the group also suffer serious damage.

February 4.—Dr. Henry S. Pritchett, of the Carnegie Corporation, reports expenditures of \$57,959,846 since 1911.

February 8.—A coal-mine explosion at Dawson, N. M., buries 122 miners; rescue cars are rushed to the scene.

Lieutenant Hinton (Am.) and pilot E. Pinto Martins (Braz.) reach Rio de Janeiro in the seaplane *Sampaio-Correia II*, after flying 5000 miles from New York since August 17, 1922.

OBITUARY

January 15.—Bishop Benjamin T. Tanner, of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, for twenty-four years editor of the *Christian Recorder* and a leader in negro advancement, 87.

January 17.—William O. Kennedy, Canadian Minister of Railways and Canals, 54.

January 18.—Wallace Reid, popular motion-picture actor, 33. . . . Kate Santley, old-time actress. . . . John Brown Lennon, for twenty-eight years treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, 75.

January 19.—Lady Cook, formerly Miss Tennessee Claflin of New York, suffragist, 77. . . . Brig.-Gen. William M. Van Horne, U.S.A., retired, 81.

January 22.—Max Simon Nordau, noted Hungarian philosopher and author, long resident in Paris, 84. . . . Samuel C. Reed, who introduced the first artificial ice in America, 90.

January 23.—Dr. Henry Yernet Wollison, formerly dentist to the Czar, 68. . . . Addison C. Thomas, Chicago journalist, 71. . . . James L. Butler, founder of Tonopah, Nev., 67.

January 24.—A. T. Sturt, of Flint, Mich., chief engineer of Durant Motors, Inc., 44. . . . Dr. Paul S. Reinsch, of Wisconsin, adviser to the Chinese Government and former Minister to China, author, 52.

January 25.—Benjamin F. Cresson, Jr., chief engineer for the Port of New York Authority, 49. . . . Henry Melville Whitney, Boston capitalist, 84. . . . Homer Lee, bank-note engraver, 73. . . . Frank Wellington Hodgdon, Boston civil engineer. . . . Hon. Richard C. Parsons, noted English drainage expert, 72.

January 27.—H. B. Warner, formerly widely known as a patent-medicine promoter, 81.

January 29.—Elihu Vedder, noted mural painter and author, 87. . . . Rev. Dr. Lauritz Larsen, president of the National Lutheran Council of America, 40. . . . Dr. Henry Solomon Lehr, founder of Ohio Northern University, 85.

January 30.—John Stevenson Tarkington, a distinguished Indianapolis attorney, 90. . . . Mayor Patrick J. Boyle, of Newport, R. I.

January 31.—Henry Clews, the noted New York banker, 88. . . . Ernest Gross, editor of the Indianapolis *Star*, 62.

February 1.—Prof. Ernst Troeltsch, of Berlin University, Pan-German theologian.

February 2.—Dr. Edward S. Crump, Detroit physician, who incurred sleeping sickness in its research. . . . James S. Chambers, Philadelphia journalist, 70.

February 4.—General Count Tamemoto Kuroki, noted Japanese commander and hero of the war with Russia, 78. . . . William H. Thompson, American character actor, 71. . . . Henry Edward Pellew, long a worker in New York and Washington for improved conditions among the poor, 94. . . . Prince Sadanaru Fushimi, uncle of the Japanese Emperor, 65.

February 5.—Cardinal Giuseppe Prisco, Archbishop of Naples, 87. . . . Franklin Baker, chocolate manufacturer, 76.

February 6.—Edward E. Barnard, astronomer in charge of Yerkes Observatory at Williams Bay, Wis., 65. . . . Prof. Bernhard E. Fernow, first chief forester, 72. . . . Kingman Nott Robins, treasurer of the University of Rochester (N. Y.) and president of the Associated Mortgage Investors.

February 7.—C. Fred Crosby, journalist, editor of the *Tobacco Record*, 59. . . . George Otis Draper, of Massachusetts, inventor and manufacturer of textile machinery, 55.

February 9.—Henry Zenas Osborne, Representative in Congress from California, 74.

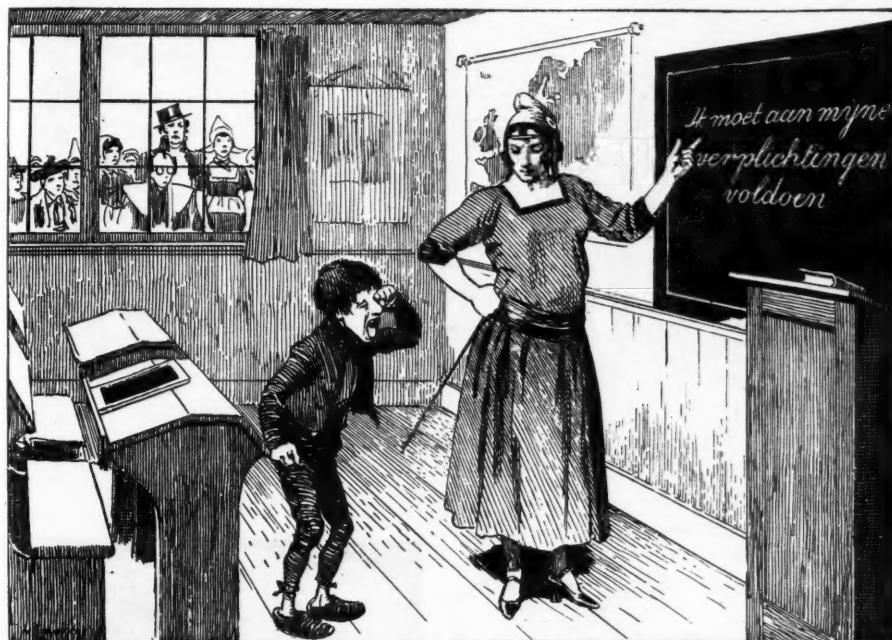
February 10.—Wilhelm von Roentgen, the German scientist who discovered the X-ray (in 1895), 77. . . . Martin A. Knapp, Judge of the Circuit Court of Appeals and previously for twenty years a member of the Interstate Commerce Commission, 79.

February 11.—William E. Tuttle, New Jersey State Banking Commissioner and former Congressman, 53.

February 12.—Luke D. Stapleton, former Justice of the Supreme Court of New York, 53.

FRANCE PRODS THE GERMAN

—WHILE GREAT BRITAIN AND AMERICA STAND ASIDE—
SOME SIDELIGHTS THROWN BY CARTOONS



"STOP YOUR CRYING, AND LEARN YOUR LESSON!"

[The sentence which the German pupil must read is: "I must fulfill all my obligations."]
From *De Amsterdamermer* (Amsterdam, Holland)



THE PARTING

JOHN BULL (loaded down with oil cans, ships, concessions, etc.): "Good-by, Marianne."

From *L'Est* (Paris, France)



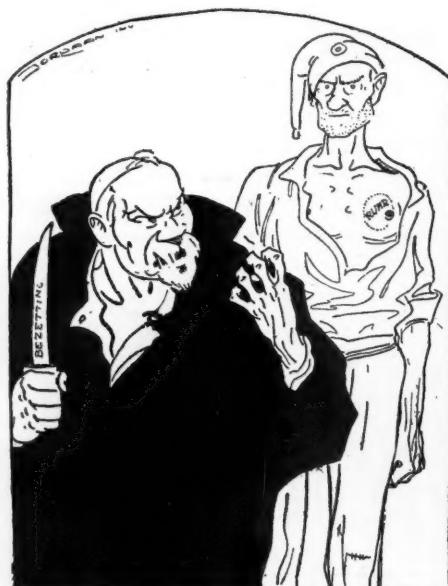
SUPERIOR SAM

"I reckon you'd better not play with those ragged European children."

From the *Pall Mall Gazette* (London, England)



UNCLE SAM: "THOSE FELLOWS FEED ON TROUBLE."

From the *News and Mercury* (Birmingham, England)

SHYLOCK POINCARÉ

'A pound of flesh—nearest his heart!'

From *De Amsterdamer* (Amsterdam, Holland)

UNCLE SAM TO THE RESCUE!

PEACE: "Help! Save me!"

UNCLE SAM: "What rate of interest will you pay?"

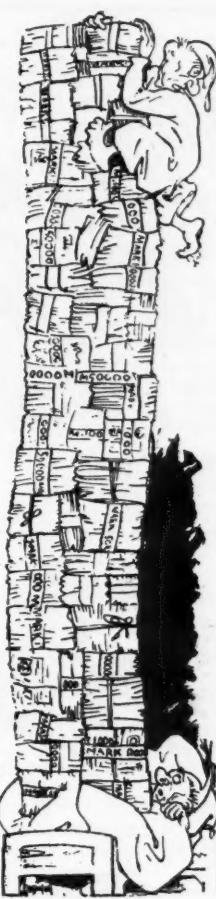
From *Il 420* (Florence, Italy)

[Note the inference conveyed, in this Italian journal, by the figure of Christopher Columbus in the background]



FRANCE AT THE HELM

"With firm, unshaking hand she steers—to ruin!"
From *De Notenkraker* (Amsterdam, Holland)



**PAPER MONEY IN GERMANY
—A BANKER'S NIGHTMARE**

From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin, Germany)

[It now takes 3000 marks, more or less, to equal the value of one German mark before the war]



WILL A LIKE FATE BEFALL THE FRANC?

(Since the occupation of the Ruhr by France the German mark has reached a new low record, while the franc is likewise going steadily down. But something may save it yet)

From the *Bulletin* (Glasgow, Scotland)



INTO THE ARMS OF THE ENEMY

From the *Star* (London, England)



THE SURPRISE OF THE WISE MEN

WISE MEN (Poincaré, Bonar Law, and Mussolini): "This must be an error! How could the Star have led us here?"
UNCLE SAM: "It's quite all right. I am the only possible redeemer."

From *Il Traviso* (Rome, Italy)



DON JUAN BULL
"You see, Marianne, we have two ententes now."
From *Le Rire* (Paris, France)

[Is England leaning more and more toward Germany, and away from France?]



USING A TORCH TO LOOK FOR THE LEAK!
THE ONLOOKERS: "Evidently Poincaré means business."

From *John Bull* (London, England)

THE decision of Great Britain not to support France in the punishment of Germany has tended to remove Uncle Sam from the center of the European cartoon. French journals now lampoon John Bull as grasping, fickle, and illogical; while British journals in turn cast doubt upon the wisdom of France's action.



JOHN BULL (standing by his Mosul oil well, to the French soldier en route for the Ruhr mines): "I can use my eyes, you know! You're one of those chaps, I can see, who want to occupy the pitheads, and then there'll be no shifting you."

From *Le Rire* (Paris, France)

FRANCE PRODS THE GERMAN—SOME CARTOON SIDELIGHTS 255



THE FIGHT FOR MOSUL OIL

JOHN BULL (to Uncle Sam): "Of course we can't lose possession of such an aromatic and artistic fountain as this!"

From *Mucha* (Warsaw, Poland)



NO MILK FORTHCOMING

(The experienced old farmer's sound advice, to feed the cow first)

From the *Daily Star* (Montreal, Canada)

The strongest condemnation of the use of French force comes from Dutch journals—witness the conceptions of Shylock Poincaré on page 252 and the mad pilot on page 253, steering the German ship to ruin.

When we come to American opinion on the Ruhr episode, as expressed in cartoons, we find a tendency to fear that France has a real job on her hands: that the German

goose may refuse to lay the golden eggs, that the German cow will not give milk unless fed, or that the German horse after being led to the water can not be made to



BUT SUPPOSE THE GOOSE REFUSES TO LAY!

From the *Bee* (Sacramento, Cal.)



THE SEAT OF EUROPE'S TROUBLES

From the *Tribune* © (Chicago, Ill.)



WE CAN'T HELP BEING INTERESTED

From the *News* (Detroit, Mich.)

RUHR VALLEY

From the *World* (New York)

PUZZLE: FIND THE "OCCUPIED" PARTY!

From the *Tribune* (Sioux City, Iowa)

WATCH YOUR STEP!

From the *American ©* (New York)

A GAME OF FREEZE-OUT

From the *Post-Dispatch* (St. Louis, Mo.)

drink. The situation simmers down to one of persistence or patience, depending upon the point of view.

When President Harding appeared before Congress, on February 7, to urge acceptance of Britain's proposal for paying her war debt to the United States, he seized the opportunity once more to recommend enactment of ship-subsidy legislation before the Sixty-seventh Congress expires on March 4. This drew attention anew to the fact that the law-making body has hesi-



ALMS, MISTER, FOR TH' LOVE OF ALLAH—
ALMS!

From the *Herald* (Washington, D. C.)



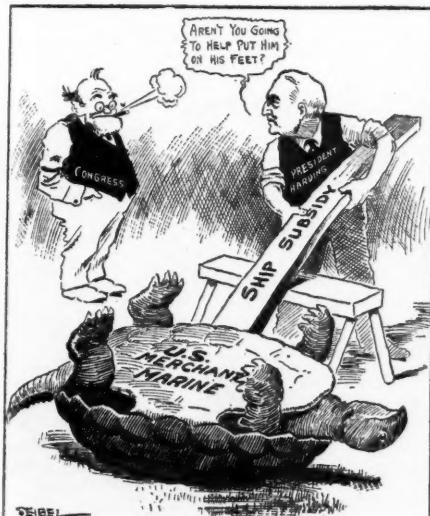
"WHENCE ALL BUT HE HAD FLED!"

From the *Tribune* (South Bend, Ind.)



A DISPUTED PASSAGE

By Reid, in the *Sentinel* (Milwaukee, Wisc.)



HOW ABOUT A LITTLE TEAM-WORK?

From the *Knickerbocker Press* (Albany, N. Y.)



JOHNNY ON THE SPOT

From the *Star* (Kansas City, Mo.)

THE SIEGE OF GERMANY

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

I. IN THE RUHR

FOUR weeks ago, when I closed my last article, the French had just occupied the Ruhr and the whole world was looking with amazement and some apprehension at what had all the outward semblance of the beginning of a new phase in that world convulsion which had already lasted since August, 1914. Now, after a month, the surprise has passed, but the importance of the Ruhr campaign has increased rather than diminished. What we are actually witnessing is one of the most stupendous sieges in human history, the siege of a whole nation, of a nation of sixty millions.

In its brief history this French campaign has, so far, fallen short of decisive victory. It has not yet produced reparations, nor has it led to German surrender. German resistance, albeit passive, has up to the present hour postponed decisive French triumph; the beleaguered fortress still holds out and the elements of resistance remain unmistakable. Since the French obviously hoped, not without some reason, that the mere gesture of force would produce results, they are to that extent disappointed.

Yet, if they hoped for swift victory, the French were not in the least unprepared for a long campaign; and, in all respects save in the failure to win a prompt success, events have marched in their favor. Above all, the one real danger they had to fear has not only been escaped but measurably conjured. In all sieges the end is assured, provided the assailant persists, save only as the siege is abolished by external action favorable to the beleaguered. What the French justly dreaded most was some intervention on behalf of the Germans by other nations.

Now the German hope was fairly precise. German statesmen, industrialists, all Germans, believed and said that French action was unlikely because such action would provoke American and British opposition. They were also convinced that, if the action were taken, Britain and the United States would without delay intervene to save Ger-

many and restrain France. All German resistance was in the last analysis bottomed upon this calculation.

But the past month has demonstrated that Britain cannot intervene and the United States will not. I am going to discuss the British situation in some detail presently, but it is enough to point out now that British interests in the Near East have become so imperilled by the events at Lausanne that the British are now in no position to risk French reprisal in the Near East through some direct effort to save Germany. Withdrawal of the British troops from the Rhine, as a protest against French policy, would certainly lead to the retirement of far more French and Italian troops from Constantinople and its environs, with obviously disastrous effect.

As for the United States, the policy of the Administration and the debates in the United States Senate have combined to reveal the fact that there is no purpose here to undertake to coerce the French. Our policy also indicates a recognition that, short of coercion, there is no means of acting save by making such materially profitable proposals as to persuade the French to retire from Germany and rely upon America for financial assistance to meet the French fiscal difficulties.

Actually, public sentiment in this country—after a brief moment of rather obvious disapproval—has increasingly swung to the French side. Instead of a clear and unmistakable demand for American action hostile to France, there has been a growing evidence of sympathy with the French; and nowhere has there been any body of sentiment which would encourage the Administration to embark upon a definite policy of opposition to France.

In a word, all German calculations upon outside aid have been pretty completely dissipated. Neither Great Britain nor the United States has manifested any compelling emotion for intervention on behalf of the Germans. Criticism of French action has not been lacking, although it has patently been more common in Britain

than in America; but this criticism has not come from controlling elements in public opinion, nor has it had a politically serious character.

Thus, in the course of a month the conflict has been gradually narrowed down on the one side to German resistance and on the other to French persistence; and the French have still the physical support of the Belgians and the moral approval of the Italians. The real isolation has been not of France but of Germany, of the besieged and not of the besieger.

All of which has amounted to demonstrating to the French that so far as the outside world is concerned their hands are free; they can go forward according to their own plans. If only a part of the outside world has approved, the remainder has acquiesced. Germany will not be saved from surrender by any outside champion; her fate remains in her own and French hands. Looking for assistance in London, Washington, and Rome, she has at most only collected a little private sympathy, while failing to disturb official neutrality in either capital.

II. THE OUTLOOK

In the long run, however, this failure to enlist outside aid must doom the German. He can resist for some weeks, perhaps for several months. His resistance may cripple the French somewhat in the matter of coal. But meanwhile all German industry will be starved into submission. The French, in seizing the coal deposits of the Ruhr, have actually laid hands upon the vital resources of the great industrial establishment which is modern Germany.

If the German resistance is much prolonged, there will be a great and rapidly growing dislocation of German industry. Failing fuel, the whole German factory system will slow down and come to a full stop. German money has already ceased to have any foreign value, and its domestic values are largely fictitious. Within a time which in any event cannot be long, German food must give out; and the paralysis of German production will abolish all means of insuring foreign supplies.

So, save in the fairly remote contingency that political trouble breaks out before surrender comes, one may fairly calculate that the time is bound to arrive when the Germans will have to make the usual appeal for terms which precedes the surrender of

a beleaguered fortress. When that time comes—and it must come—then we shall enter into the second and even more important stage.

It would be worse than foolish to imagine that when Germany does surrender the terms will be modified by any outside aid. France with Belgium will write the terms, and they will not under any circumstance envisage the evacuation of the Ruhr. France will not now leave the Ruhr on any mere promise to pay made by a Germany at the end of her rope so far as resistance is concerned. On the contrary, while French occupying troops may be largely withdrawn, French civil authorities will remain and the Ruhr will be organized as a German asset to be conducted primarily in the interests of French and Belgian creditors.

At this point large industry comes into the question. France in regaining Alsace-Lorraine became master of the largest iron deposits in Europe. But Germany, still retaining her Ruhr coal, succeeded in depriving the French conquest of much industrial value by ceasing to employ Lorraine iron and, instead, purchasing her iron abroad: in Sweden, in Spain, and elsewhere. The result was the semi-paralysis of the French iron industry.

But now, since the French have laid hands upon German coal, they have acquired control of the second of the two vital elements in the steel industry. They can alike compel the Germans to purchase French iron and deflect to the French industrial regions of the Moselle valley such German coal as may be needed, fixing prices as they choose.

In practice this means that the German industrialists, of whom Stinnes and Thyssen are outstanding figures, must make terms with French captains of industry, must permit the French to enter into the German companies, must sooner or later agree to some sort of partnership between French and German iron-and-steel production. In a word, French big business will acquire, through its Government, material holdings in German big business; and France will reimburse herself along the way.

German big business—encouraged by its Government, or, more exactly, encouraging its Government—has held out against this French demand because it believed that, rather than permit amalgamation between French and German iron industries, the British and even America would intervene.

But the process which I have summarily sketched is not likely to be worked out in any short time, nor save as France retains the power and the position to coerce a refractory Germany. This means that the French are likely to stay on the Rhine indefinitely, and that not impossibly new political divisions will spring up in this region—such, for example, as the now notorious Rhine Free State, which would include all German territory on the left bank of the Rhine together with the Ruhr and Westphalian districts on the right.

The French are totally unlikely to undertake any annexation of German territory. They have not the smallest desire to have a new Alsace-Lorraine on their hands and a protesting delegation in their Parliament. On the other hand, the advantages of a buffer state are not to be mistaken; and it is inevitable that such a buffer state would be united to France economically by some favorable form of tariff arrangement. After all, this would be no more than the political expression of the economic amalgamation which is bound to be tried.

Without attempting to make any precise forecast of the future, one can quite safely point out that what the French have done is to seize the most valuable single asset of their defiant and now insolvent debtor. But mere seizure will bring them nothing; that is, it will not lead to payment which in turn will permit evacuation, for the German is not in a position to pay.

What must inevitably happen is that the French, having seized this one available and tremendously valuable asset, will now have to make use of it to pay themselves; and they can only do this in practice by hitching it up to French industry. French iron and German coal, thus combined, may give France industrial supremacy in Europe. At least, it is now the one hope of escape from that bankruptcy which threatens to result from German devastations.

III. FRENCH SUPREMACY

In any case, it seems to me that the world, and particularly the American world, must face the fact that the occupation of the Ruhr is now bound to prove an historic event of far-reaching importance. It settles for a long time to come the question as to what nation is to be the dominating force in Europe. We are entering a period of French supremacy on the Continent which may

last as long as that which came with the Revolution and endured up to the fall of Napoleon.

The overthrow of Russia, the disappearance of Austria, the crushing of Germany; these three circumstances left France with no single power on the Continent strong enough to confront her alone. The association of Belgium, the Little Entente, and Poland, with France, removed the possibility of any combination of states which might restrain the French. Such prospect of the recreation of a balance of power as remained was founded upon the idea of British association with Italy, in the first instance, and with the salvaging of Germany by Anglo-Italian political pressure upon France.

This was the last line of policy of Lloyd George, who also looked hopefully toward Russia as an eventual partner against France. But recent events have compelled the British to abandon their hope of constructing a new alliance and thus restraining the French. Instead of exercising pressure upon France on the Rhine, they have all but succumbed to French policy directed against them in the Near East. Where they had thought to support Germany against France, and thus check France, they have been themselves subjected to Turkish hostility, behind which lurked at least the suspicion of interested French activity.

To attempt now to use political or military influence upon France in the west, would unquestionably lead only to a general Mohammedan offensive from Cairo to Calcutta, which would suck in most if not all of the available British military resources and put new burdens upon an already overtaxed population. It would, too, increase, not diminish, the disturbance in the economic world and thus expand, not reduce, the already colossal number of British unemployed.

Moreover, along the way the British have lost the Italians. At the moment the Italians are nominally, at least, supporting the French in Germany and the Turks in Asia Minor. Mussolini is—or at least has been—outspoken in his censure of British policy toward Italy; and, granted that Italian aid might be regained, it would only be at the cost of new financial sacrifices on the part of the British Government.

As for Italy, assuming that she should venture to join the British in some effort

hostile to the French, she herself would instantly feel the consequences of the enduring hostility of the Jugoslavs, but this situation would change once the Italians enlisted on the German side.

To estimate European conditions at the present hour one must see the facts as they are. Clemenceau made a treaty of peace with the two Anglo-Saxon nations, which amounted to a covenant to permit Germany to escape political destruction provided those two nations agreed to guarantee France against an attack by a restored Germany and to join France in compelling German payment into the bargain.

We and the British have repudiated this treaty—we in fact, the British in practice. And the French, on their side, have thus felt themselves freed from any restraint imposed by this same document, and have taken into their own hands the task of regulating their own security and assuring their own payment. The Ruhr operation is only the final step in the long series of events which have liberated the French from the crippling handicaps imposed by Mr. Wilson and Mr. Lloyd George in the Versailles agreements.

For three years British diplomacy has sought with skill and with persistence to isolate France and restrain her until Germany was sufficiently recovered to serve as the vital element in a new European combination to hold back France permanently and restore the balance of power. Perhaps, if Lloyd George had not made his fatal blunder in the case of the Turk, British policy might have triumphed, but now its failure is complete. To-day Britain is so deeply involved in foreign complications of her own, that she is in no shape to risk the consequences of open French incitation of the Mohammedan populations of the East.

France, on the other hand, has a position not equalled since the fall of Napoleon. She has a superb army, admirably commanded. She has a system of alliance that embraces all of those smaller states which possess effective military forces. She has now laid hands upon the richest coal deposit in western Europe, while, thanks to her support, Poland possesses in Upper Silesia the only comparable mineral region.

Germany is disarmed, economically helpless, politically isolated. France occupies the Rhine barrier and the Ruhr mineral districts. Her guns cover Frankfort quite as completely as Essen. Modern war is

a war of industries and machines, even more than of armies, and the French hold the German industries as well as the German machine shops. German resistance now could lead only to hopeless slaughter and unlimited destruction of property; and the losses would be German, not French.

No human being can say how France will use the power which is in her hands. She may use it wisely or unwisely, profitably or with fatal consequences to herself. But the fact is that well-nigh absolute power is in her hands. You may argue that she has come by this power wickedly, and that to use it will be immoral. Such arguments seem to me unfounded, but in any event they have little bearing now, in the face of the unquestioned fact.

I have always believed that in the end the French would stop at nothing to prevent German recovery, unless that recovery promised them payment for their injuries at German hands and at the same time had no ultimate menace to their security. As it stands to-day, the French have not been paid; and there is no mistaking the fact that any early German recovery would insure German attempt to take vengeance.

The dominant sentiment in the France which I know is not militaristic or imperialistic in the ordinary sense; it is a will to live. For half a century the people of France have existed under the imminent shadow of extinction at German hands. Attacked in the end, they only narrowly escaped the threatened destruction. Now fate or justice has delivered the enemy into their hands, while their allies have in turn stood aside and stiffly refused to undertake any engagement to support France if a recovered Germany retakes the old road to Paris.

Occupying the Rhine, France holds the German defenses. Occupying the Ruhr, she controls the essentials in German industrial life. Germany may resist French domination, but the resistance only leads to the disorganization and eventual ruin of the German industrial plant, merely leads to eventual misery, famine, and even depopulation. The longer the resistance, the more complete will be German prostration; and the more violent its character, the greater will be the physical destruction.

Actually, after a long armistice, France and Germany have resumed the war which began in 1914 and paused in 1918. The issues have not changed, only the conditions. The German undertook so to deal

with France that she would never cross his path again—the words are Bernhardi's—but with the German purpose fully revealed, with the marks of German destruction surviving from Belfort to the Channel, power has passed to France.

In 1918 President Wilson and Premier Lloyd George assured the French that if they would spare Germany they should themselves be paid and protected; but they have had neither payment nor protection. Always, however, they have had the power to pursue pathways which they themselves believe lead to the attainment of both. The mistake has been to believe that forever they would be restrained from exercising this power, although permanently deprived of these benefits, for which they had made the supreme sacrifices of the war.

IV. A NEW PHASE

The moment has come, it seems to me, to recognize that the age in which we are living not only has been but is likely to continue indefinitely to be marked by great disturbances. There was a condition of approximate stability and balance during the last years of the Nineteenth Century and the first decade of the present one. No general war had taken place since Waterloo, and despite occasional struggles the world had become used to political and territorial arrangements based upon the post-Napoleonic settlement.

But the World War, in destroying empires and liberating nationalities, totally upset all existing political balances in Europe. It restored to France the position that it had held after the Thirty Years War had eliminated the German as a factor, while the weak Stuart régime, already moving toward the Civil War, paralyzed British influence.

Out of these circumstances arose the opportunity and the efforts of Louis XIV. For two generations France, although in the end restrained, dominated the whole of Europe—not because of a superior population but because of the enfeebled condition of Europe itself, the successful concentration of French resources, and the presence on the Bourbon throne of one of the greatest of kings.

Something like that situation has come again. But on the whole the actual circumstances more resemble the events of 1792, when the French Revolution, having

killed Louis XVI, was suddenly called upon to defend itself against a combination of monarchs marching to avenge a brother king and to abolish a challenge to that divine right by which they held dominion.

Thus attacked, feeling her life at stake, France rallied to a resistance which began at Valmy, lasted for more than twenty years, and collapsed only when the kings at length demonstrated that they made war not upon France but upon Napoleon. Now, there exists in this country a notion that France is a weak and decadent country, but anyone who chooses to examine the record will find that it was a far weaker and more exhausted France, torn by domestic dissensions, almost disarmed by the desertion of the Royalist officers in the army, which confronted Europe at the close of the Eighteenth Century and ultimately sent armies from Moscow to Lisbon.

It is not, as I see it, that France is now seeking to revive the glories of Louis XIV or of Napoleon. What is significant is that once more, as in 1792, France has been attacked, was attacked in 1914; and just as the ancient struggle began on French soil and was expanded to the remote corners of Europe, so the consequences of the recent German attack seem likely to spread indefinitely.

The French invasion of the Ruhr is the direct consequence of the German invasion of France and Belgium in 1914 and the failure of a Germany, later repulsed, to make any real effort to comply with the terms of the treaty of peace. What is too little appreciated is that the very life of France is at stake if a powerful Germany reappears, a Germany which has escaped payment of the costs of devastations in France and Belgium and left these burdens upon peoples inferior in population already.

However you may view the ethical phases of the problem, it is patently madness from the material point of view for the French to permit German recovery just as long as this recovery automatically menaces French safety and French existence. If France should retire beaten from the Ruhr now, she would henceforth be not even a second-class nation. She would fall to the rank of Spain automatically. She would be what she narrowly escaped becoming between 1870 and 1914—a mere helpless vassal of Germany.

This fate France will not accept, though the alternative should be the wrecking of

Germany or indeed the wrecking of Europe. Through three years she has waited for the Anglo-Saxon nations, heeding temporarily their appeals to let Germany recover, but only because these Anglo-Saxon nations have continued to intimate that if France would follow their advice they would lend their strength to France.

On this point, however, French illusions are at an end. When France entered the Ruhr she definitely turned her back upon all idea of Anglo-Saxon association. She concluded, rightly or wrongly, that while the British and the Americans were bound to continue to seek German restoration—because their interests were engaged in the restoration of the German market—they had not the smallest intention to undertake military or financial guarantees on behalf of France.

Germany, meanwhile, relying upon Anglo-Saxon aid, has consistently evaded the payment of what she justly should have paid, while always clinging to the purpose of ultimate attack upon France. But now Germany is to find, as did France, that the Anglo-Saxon nations, though materially interested in her recovery for trade reasons, are either unwilling or unable to intervene physically on her behalf. In a word, as the French yesterday assailed us for abandoning them, the Germans are now criticising both the United States and Britain for abandoning them to their fate.

When at last the fact is established in the German mind that the British cannot and the Americans will not intervene, not by words but by force, to save them from the French, then they will have to surrender, the siege of Germany will come to an end, and they will have to make precisely the concessions which the French and Belgians demand. Then, for a period of time, at least, they will pass under the actual control of the French; and with this surrender will expire the last present hope of resisting French supremacy on the Continent.

Had the French waited two years longer, perhaps the Russians might have been strong enough to supply a counter weight, but it will be two years at least before Russia can act effectively. Meantime the Polish military cordon is strong enough to restrain them, while before two years are over the fate of Germany for at least a generation will be established; and not impossibly, when the Russians are ready to move, the French will be able to employ German

troops against them as they did in the Napoleonic time.

In any event, there remain only two nations in Europe which might serve as the foundations of resistance to French control on the Continent—namely, Britain and Russia. But not only is Russia at present impotent and Britain enmeshed in Near Eastern troubles, but it is far from unlikely that the Russians, by supporting the Turks, will throw themselves against the British in all of Asia from the Caucasus to the Hindu-Kush. Certainly Russian hatred of the British to-day is an overwhelming emotion, while all sympathy and influence from Moscow is being exerted to push the Turk against the Briton.

Yet it remains true that every step taken by France in Europe must prove injurious to Great Britain, because either France will succeed in amalgamating German industry with her own and thus in building up a fatal competition on the Continent to British industries, or the effect of French policy and German resistance will be the destruction of the purchasing power of the whole Continent, and consequently an ever-increasing number of the British unemployed and an ever-mounting burden upon the British tax-payer.

Therefore, one must see that henceforth we are to face a period of intense Anglo-French hostility. The two nations confront each other once more as they did in the eighteenth century. French supremacy on the Continent carries deadly peril to British trade and commerce, and therefore to British existence. Sooner or later it is well-nigh inevitable that this hostility will lead to open conflict. Yet at the present hour Britain is in no condition to risk such a conflict, and the French action in Germany is daily reducing the British chance to find in Germany any ally to assist in the restraint of France.

All of which is, after all, no more than logical and in accordance with historical precedent. Until the rise of modern Germany finally broke French power on the Continent, France and Britain faced each other as rivals for many centuries. The destruction of Germany—and that destruction is going forward almost ineluctably—has restored all the old circumstances. And slowly but surely the traditional feelings of the two great peoples toward each other are beginning to be stirred and to reveal themselves.

Therefore, it seems to me that the invasion of the Ruhr really marks a new phase in European history and that the dominating fact in this new phase will be Anglo-French rivalry, leading eventually to Anglo-French conflict. But meantime there will be a considerable period of undisputed French supremacy on the Continent of Europe, a period the length of which may be conditioned upon developments in that part of the British Empire between Egypt and Mesopotamia in the west and India on the east.

V. LAUSANNE

Turning now to the events in the Near East, the precise consequences of the ending of the Lausanne Conference remain vague. It is clear that the Conference failed, so far as the achievement of any definite result was sought. It is clear that the united front between the Allies—between Britain, France, and Italy—was not preserved, and that in case hostilities should presently be resumed, French and Italian troops would be withdrawn from the Near East and the British would be left with only the Greeks as allies to confront the Turks.

That hostilities are certain, however, seems to me by no means a just conclusion. The Turk has won almost every material point in the Conference. He had the territorial gains he desired, even before the Lausanne affair, by the terms of the Mudania Armistice. Mosul he means to have, but he can safely await the right moment.

Meantime a gigantic British conception has gone by the board. Few Americans appreciate the extent of the British imperial venture in the Near East. Once the Turk was beaten, British expeditions staked claims from the Caspian and the Black Sea to Palestine and the Persian Gulf. British troops occupied the vast oil regions of Batum. An Arabian state was sketched in the valley of the Euphrates. Palestine was transformed into a British mandate.

Meantime, at Paris a tremendous effort was made on the one hand to invoke American aid to get the French out of Syria, and on the other to persuade America—by taking the mandate for Armenia and perhaps for Constantinople—to associate herself with this gigantic British conception, this new empire fashioned out of Russian, Turkish, and Arabian territories and rich in its oil deposits.

Of this gigantic scheme nothing is now left save the shaky British hold upon Mosul, which must eventually be evacuated or fought for. We have declined the Armenian mandate and retired. Despite British effort, the French have Syria; and thus the Arabian Kingdom is prevented and Arabian resentment at Britain stimulated. Batum has had to be abandoned.

The Turk, too, instead of disappearing has come back and swept before him the Greek armies which the British enlisted in their Asiatic venture by the promise of Aegean shores of Asia Minor. More than a billion of money has been sunk in the Mesopotamian adventures, and the result now is no more than the present crisis and the choice between eventual evacuation or ultimate war.

More than this, the whole Mohammedan world has been aroused to fanatical hatred of the British, and the results are felt and must continue to be felt in India and in Egypt. The very safety of India has been imperiled, and we have seen in recent months the surrender of British policy in Egypt to an extent which would hardly have been deemed possible a few years ago.

British adventuring in Caspian lands, British efforts to seat the Greek in Constantinople, have not alone aroused the Mohammedan world, but they have excited the Russians; and to-day the Turk and the Slav are in nominal and probably actual alliance against the British, while the British support of the Greek has estranged the Italian at the precise moment when Italian aid was of utmost value in the Franco-German disputes.

To-day, when events which will probably shape European history for a generation at least are taking place along the Rhine, the British are unable to take any important steps, because their hands are hopelessly tied in the Near East; and mere withdrawal of their troops from the Rhine as a protest against the French policy would lead to the swift retirement of French and even Italian troops from the Near East. Thus, if the French position before Germany would be compromised by the withdrawal of British troops, the posture of the British before the Turks would become almost hopeless.

The refusal of the British to support the French in the last Paris Conference doomed the Lausanne Conference, just as the earlier development of Lloyd Georgian policy in Germany and Greece led France and Italy

to abandon the British and make separate treaties with the Angora government in the Near East. British support of France in Europe was the price demanded for support of Britain in Asia; but it was always certain that if the price were refused, France would resume her freedom of action, and she has.

Lausanne did no more than expose the fact that the alliance of western powers which won the World War had been dissolved and that the Turk was free to pursue his traditional policy of playing one Christian power against another. When the conference opened, the French break with the British at Paris had not taken place. So the Turk waited craftily. When the French troops were at last in the Ruhr, then he knew that he was safe from an association of French or Italian troops with those of Great Britain in any operation against himself. Thereafter all chance of his signing the ridiculously slight concessions won from him at Lausanne disappeared. He had won by waiting and could now retire to Angora, threatening hostilities, which the western nations were in no position politically or materially to endure.

As I write, the press of the world is again speculating over the likelihood of a Turkish offensive, of an operation directed against the British in Mosul or at Chanak or against the Greeks along the Maritza River. But one may conjecture that unless the Turks have a rush of blood to the head they will not attack, but merely wait again to see the effect, particularly in England, of the threat of a new war to regain Mesopotamia and Palestine.

In Britain the demand has already been made that the British troops be withdrawn from the Straits, from Mesopotamia, and from Palestine. Such a withdrawal would represent the most humiliating experience in British history since the withdrawal of British troops from America. Yet it is hard to see how, in the end, such a retirement can be avoided unless England finally resolves to fight and to fight single-handed for her place in western Asia. Not Turkey alone, but the Arabian states as well, seem likely to escape European dominion. Even the French position in Syria is compromised and may also have to be abandoned.

Yet the Near East for France is a matter of sentiment rather than material interest. French interests center on the Rhine and in North Africa. It is different with the British. Retreat in the Near and Middle

East now may compromise their position in India and must gravely diminish their prestige throughout the whole of Asia and of North Africa. Moreover, in addition to Turkish hostility, the British have to reckon with the Russian. Slav intrigue had not a little to do with Turkish resistance, and Turkey is sure to have every possible assistance from the Soviet Government if it enters a new struggle with Great Britain.

Naturally, the British will accuse the French of having deserted them in the East, but the French indictment of Britain for abandonment in the West has long ago been filed. The truth is that the German and Turkish courses are equally the result of the collapse of the Anglo-French Entente. Had Britain stood solidly with France, Germany would have made an honest effort to meet reparations. Had France supported British policy unqualifiedly in the Near East, the Turk would not be back in Europe and threatening new aggressions.

Now Ismet has gone back to Angora; the Lausanne Conference has added one more to the list of failures of the conference method to restore world peace; and, while a new war remains rather possible than likely, the somber fact is that one more effort to reduce the list of causes for world disorder has ended in multiplying rather than diminishing the dangers to world reintegration. We may differ as to the extent of what has been lost at Lausanne, but no one can maintain that anything tangible has been gained.

If Great Britain could put forth a tithe of her real strength, if she could mobilize an army of a hundred thousand to fight alongside the reformed Greek army, the Turkish threat could be disposed of in short order; for Turkey is, after all, an empty shell and its army destitute of most of what is needed to make a modern army formidable. But the difficulty is that British public opinion revolts at the idea of a new war. This possibility led to the fall of Lloyd George, and if Bonar Law risked it his position might become compromised promptly.

Turkish intransigency is based upon the calculation that the British nation seeks peace at any price. On this theory Turkey is likely to press its demands to the breaking point, and it may well be that before long the British will have to choose between fighting and abandoning all the gains made in Asia as a result of the World War. All in all, Lausanne, while a humiliation for the

whole Christian world, is a terrible material disaster for the British Empire, the consequences of which cannot yet be accurately measured.

VI. THE BRITISH DEBT

It remains now to discuss briefly the British debt settlement. With the terms themselves I shall not deal; all things considered, they seem fair and reasonable. We are to receive approximately \$175,000,000 annually for sixty-two years; thus in principal and interest we shall collect above \$10,000,000,000 on a capital sum of \$4,600,000,000. Moreover, what the British are to pay us amounts to but little less than half of the total sum it is now held possible for the Germans to pay.

Two aspects of these negotiations with Britain deserve comment in any review of recent international events. First of all, it would be a mistake for Americans to imagine that the agreement meets with British approbation. The fact is that the mass of the British people feel, and will continue to feel for a long time, that we have acted in a singularly selfish fashion in demanding payment at all and that we have compounded the selfishness by demanding severe terms.

It has been a settled detail of British policy that the debt to America must be paid, if demanded; but it has been the well-nigh universal belief that in the last analysis America would not make the demand. The British public has trusted in a legendary American open-handedness and now, finding itself mistaken, has experienced a severe shock. We have probably never been as unpopular in Great Britain as at the present hour, and this unpopularity is likely to endure for a considerable time.

The truth is, of course, that the British situation is desperate. Unemployment not only continues but is bound to increase materially as the effects of Continental troubles are felt. In addition, the Near Eastern situation also threatens trade, while it carries a patent menace of a new, expensive, and totally unprofitable war. Almost as much as the German, the Briton hoped that the United States would intervene to restrain the French in the Ruhr; our failure advertises the final collapse of the British policy of association with the United States in foreign affairs.

To understand British disappointment and even bitterness to-day, Americans must appreciate what was hoped of us in England at the close of the war. There was to be an Anglo-American association which would operate under the shadow of the League of Nations but would actually control world affairs. We were to take mandates in the Near East, and thus join with the British in organizing old Turkish and Russian lands; and not a little of the trouble in that quarter to-day is attributed to American refusal to assume any responsibility.

We were relied upon by the British to join in restraining the French and in re-establishing Germany, not as a military power but as an economic unit. Even as late as the Washington Conference, British hopes of American reappearance in Europe ran high. The real disillusionment has only come in recent months, beginning when we declined to go to Genoa. This refusal wrecked the conference and left the British powerless before a France which had at one time made European alliances and escaped from British leading strings.

Thanks to our desertion, as the Englishman sees it, he has lost his dominating position in Europe. His position in the Near East has been compromised, while his economic situation remains the most immediately depressing problem. The markets of the world have not recovered, and there is no immediate promise that they will; and this lack of recovery is measured in British unemployment. Yet, having thus retired from all responsibilities, having refused him all political aid, we now insist upon the payment of a debt which he frankly regards as a technical, not a moral, obligation.

Moreover, while insisting upon payment, we have erected a tariff wall to exclude British manufactures, have sought to pass ship-subsidy legislation which would challenge his merchant marine, have constructed emigration barriers which prevent the transfer of a large number of skilled laborers—who, being unable to find work abroad, remain a terrible burden upon the British tax-payer.

It is a fact that although Britain's European allies owe her more than twice as much as she owes us—and in addition her claim upon German reparations is considerable—most informed Englishmen recognize that there is not the smallest

chance that they will receive a shilling from the Continent. The frantic effort of Lloyd George was to tie the questions of all Allied debts and of reparations together, and to persuade America to join in the adjustment. This was the policy of the Balfour note.

Now the British are bound to pay us, provided Congress does not refuse to ratify the debt agreement; but at the same moment the French action on the Continent seems to them not alone to destroy all value in the claims Britain has upon Continental countries but also to promise further restriction of the European markets.

We in America think of the British as having won material advantages in the World War—lands, markets, the elimination of the German rival; yet this is hardly the case. The best of their territorial gains were in Asia Minor, and after having spent a billion of dollars to consolidate their position they are steadily being brought to the point of evacuating them all. The elimination of the German rival has advantaged them little, for the war in reducing the purchasing power of the world has been far more deadly to British trade than German competition. That is, even with the German rival gone, there is less trade left for Britain than before the war.

Meanwhile, in place of the German rival there has arisen the American, vastly richer, incredibly little injured by the war, still unbelievably maladroit in employing vast resources in the foreign field, but potentially much more dangerous as a commercial competitor than Germany ever was, financially in an unassailable situation, and holding Britain to ransom for sums which before the war were held to be fantastic.

If France succeeds either in making Germany pay or in breaking her up politically, she will emerge a real victor, despite all her losses incident to the war. Her position will be better in all respects than it has been for at least half a century and perhaps for a full century. But it is hard to see now any way in which the war can prove more than a supreme disaster to the British nation.

Englishmen believe, and will long continue to believe, that the worst circumstances of this disaster might have been avoided had the United States stood with England—instead of declining all responsibility and retiring to isolation, after having through Mr. Wilson raised great but vain hopes. They feel that it is our desertion

which has left them helpless in the face of Europe, which has given France a free hand. Resenting this real or fancied desertion, their bitterness becomes still more acute in the face of our insistence upon the payment of a debt incurred to win a war in which we were not only participants, but from their point of view the single victor.

Now, in addition to its effect upon Britain, the meaning of the debt settlement to the Continent must be noted. We have held the British to their bond. Therefore, although they have no hope of collecting anything, they must in the nature of things hold both Germany and their own Allied debtors; for the British tax-payer quite naturally will not hear of a cancellation of his claims while his debts are to be paid in full.

But this only means that France, Belgium, and Italy will politely but grimly insist that they can pay Britain only as Germany pays them and only after Germany has paid enough to meet the costs of the reconstruction of war ruins. So there you have the old difficulty, the insistence that Germany pay sums in excess of all possibility. Unless we should join the British in the proposal that all debts owed both of us by the Continent be cancelled and reparations reduced to a sum just sufficient to meet the costs of French, Belgian, and Italian reconstruction and of Britain's debt to us, the situation would remain as it now is, quite hopeless.

Actually, our associates of the war on the Continent are not going to pay us or pay the British, and the Germans are not going to pay them. The French are going to get some coal out of Germany, at best. But coal is not a medium of payment of debts to us or to the British; on the contrary, that coal is going to reduce British sales and in the end add to the British unemployment. In my judgment the moment has come when it is safe to forecast that Germany will not pay reparations and the Continent as a result will not pay inter-Allied debts.

VII. CONCLUSION

Either Germany is going to be smashed completely, or else she is going to be made an economic vassal of France for a long period of years; but in neither case is there the smallest hope of reparations. If Germany is smashed England loses the German

market, in fact the whole Central European market, along with all her claims alike upon Germany and upon France, Italy, and Belgium. If German industry is joined up to French, England will still lose the debts, the markets, and in addition face the most dangerous of all conceivable competitions in coal and iron.

But without America there is no way of stopping France; and now, even with America, there is hardly more chance, for the French are in the Ruhr and are totally unlikely to come out on request from London or Washington. We still talk in America of some action at a propitious moment; but the British know that the moment has passed, that the invasion of the Ruhr opened a wholly new chapter in European history.

Look at the British situation as it is. Forty-three millions of people can live in the narrow area of the United Kingdom only as long as they can sell abroad their manufactures and their minerals and in return buy food, of which they can produce at home only a few weeks' supply annually. Their resources are increased by the accumulations of capital of other times and by the earnings of their shipping and foreign investments.

But if the foreign markets go, if they can not sell goods and buy food, reduction of population is inevitable and as it is postponed misery is inescapable. Moreover, not only must they buy food abroad but it is a matter of utmost importance that they should buy it cheaply. Yet the collapse of Russia has removed the one source of cheap food.

France can live, we can live, because for both of us foreign trade is a detail. Both countries feed themselves. Germany, on the other hand, cannot feed herself and must buy her food abroad. If her foreign trade disappears her population must migrate or starve. Thus the present political chaos in Europe, while threatening the existence of millions of Germans and Englishmen, does little material injury to France; while the migrations of Germans and Englishmen would automatically improve the relative position of France in Europe.

If you can conceive that the conditions which have lasted for four years can be continued for ten or twenty years longer, with no more rapid disintegration than is already taking place, it is not too much to

forecast that at the end of that time the population of Germany would have to be reduced to 40,000,000 and that of the United Kingdom to 30,000,000. Only France, of the western powers, could maintain her present population. That whole system of industrialism which existed in Europe before the war would be well-nigh wiped out. Nations would have to become self contained, as they were in other centuries, and the basis of population would be domestic food supplies not foreign markets.

I have in the present article perhaps strayed far afield, and yet what I am anxious to have my readers perceive is that vast new horizons are beginning to be unfolded. It is no longer certain that the World War can be viewed accurately as a complete episode. More and more events at least suggest that it may prove a single circumstance, the initial incident in a world-wide convulsion like the French Revolution or the Thirty Years' War.

The World War had many causes, but at least one was the fact that while production was enormously increasing markets were not keeping pace and that as a consequence nations whose existence depended upon their capacity to sell and buy abroad, to sell manufactures and buy food, felt themselves threatened. But the war—instead of delivering the British from German competition or the Germans from British—actually almost abolished the capacity of the world to buy goods or furnish food, and thereafter the situation of both the British and German populations became acute; and this situation was complicated by the expansion of American production.

If Britain cannot get back both her markets and her sources of cheap food, then her very existence is imperilled. But she cannot get back either unless peace and prosperity are restored in the world. France, on the other hand, able to feed herself, is unconcerned about markets and is prepared to prolong chaos, provided Germany refuses payment and threatens attack. So France seems to the Englishman the enemy of his very life, while the Englishman seems to the Frenchman ready to raise Germany up to the ruin of France.

And, after long hesitations, the French have broken with the British and have gone their way, a way which is fraught with so much of danger for Britain and for Germany as well. Now that the Frenchman has broken from British restraint, the

chance of restoring British markets becomes less while the promise of British suffering is gravely increased. But, underneath, two forms of civilization—the industrial and the agricultural—have joined issue: the Eighteenth Century, which is France, is fighting the Twentieth, which is British, German, and in a measure our own.

Yet it must be recognized that our position has certain resemblances to that of France. For, while the British and Germans have gone on increasing their population at a terrific rate, without regard to any question of food supply, the French have voluntarily limited their birth rate and we have deliberately cut down our immigration. So, at least for a certain time we

have escaped the problem of overpopulation and continue, like the French, self-supporting.

This circumstance explains, I believe, why we have not come to the aid of the Briton in Europe. For him the preservation of the markets of the world was a matter of life or death, the restoration of economic conditions of 1914 the problem of existence for him, and he firmly believed the same was true of us. But events have demonstrated that while we would like to see ante-war conditions restored and have keen interest in international trade, yet since it is not a matter of life and death for us we have shrunk from the obvious risks and dangers of international action.

LAUSANNE: A CLOSE-UP

BY WILLIAM T. ELLIS

[Mr. Ellis, who contributed the article on "Outstanding Factors in the Near Eastern Crisis" to our November number, was at Lausanne during the most important sessions of the Conference. He is in close touch with the situation in the Near East.—THE EDITOR.]

AT LEAST the Lausanne Conference has been a godsend for some of the local hotels, in an off season. The really charming caravansaries have made life comfortable for the delegates and their retainers, to whom a holiday in Switzerland has been a prize to be grasped. The formal and informal dances and dinners have been all that they should be. A more appropriate setting for a leisurely exercise of the old diplomacy could scarcely be imagined. With the end of some of the mornings, and most of the afternoons, devoted to sessions of the commissions or subcommissions, in the picturesque Chateau by the lakeside, looking across at the snow-capped mountains, there has been time for occasional outings up in the snow, and for the interminable eating and drinking and conversation that go with an occasion of the sort.

The Question of the Straits

As for the final achievements of the Conference, it is too early to write with certainty. Probably a peace treaty will be signed, and, in the main, according to Turkey's program. Those persons who are most sophisticated seem to think that the really great achievement of the Conference,

to speak with candid cynicism, is that an agreement upon the Straits has been reached which will make it possible, in due season, should occasion arise, for Great Britain or the Allied Powers to attack Russia with a naval force in the Black Sea. The "Ancient rule of the Ottoman Empire," as the closing of the Straits has been technically designated for centuries past, is at an end. Any power may send three war-ships into the Black Sea during times of peace. Should war arise, each nation may send in a fleet as large as that of any Black Sea power. Thus Russia's one vulnerable flank is exposed to her bitterest enemy: for, as said a most eminent Englishman at Lausanne, who still thinks in terms of his Indian experience of twenty years ago, "We can't attack Russia over the Pamirs; nor yet at Archangel; the one place we can strike effectively is in the Black Sea."

This does not sound much like a peace conference, does it? Well, which one of the many councils held since the armistice, including Paris itself, has really had world settlement as its first objective? Even the Washington Conference witnessed a serious and sustained exhibition of European rivalry and diplomatic maneuvers. Lau-

sanne is simply one more phase of the ancient strife among historic opponents.

Extra-Territoriality in Turkey

At this writing, the Straits question is considered settled. Mosul, with its oil, is a prize that still causes fevered tugging and pulling and hauling. In the nature of the case, the conference cannot be permitted to come to a deadlock over oil. Even if this should be the real reason for a break, some other occasion would have to be found. The complete abolition of capitulations, or extra-territorial privileges for foreigners, is insisted upon by the latest message from Angora. The Allies declare that this is unthinkable, but, after more blustering, they will, as in frequent other instances, quietly yield to the Turks, who, after all, are the victors in the war, and possess an army poised for action. Certain minor concessions, like the settlement of disputes concerning marriage, divorce, adoption and inheritance among foreigners, where the existing Turkish laws cannot apply, will doubtless be made to the consular courts.

There are rumors that the real guarantees that Turkey is to give the powers will be found in the treaty to be signed with America; and in the early employment of American experts to reorganize the Turkish judicial, educational, financial and transportation systems. Certainly there has been talk in highest Angora circles of this method of putting Turkey on her feet. Economically, the very backwardness of Turkey has, in a sense, been her salvation. Alone among the defeated powers, she has not resorted to the printing press to meet the need for money. Her position may be likened to that of a wealthy man—for Turkey is very rich in natural resources and potential trade—who has cut off all his usual expenses, and has gone to live in his camp in the woods for a few years. Barring the factor of the loss of her Christian merchandising class, Turkey is in a position to "come back" quickly. The one obstacle, which looms as a nightmare to her leaders, is a possibility of the old days of intrigue by the rival western powers. The abolition of the capitulations is primarily for the purpose of escaping this abuse of their special privileges by European nations.

America's unique position of altruism in Turkey, as represented by her schools and missions and relief work, is reflected by her standing here at Lausanne. All parties are

keen to know the American mind upon controverted subjects. It is a unique mediatorial rôle that the official "observers" fill. Their statements before the various commissions have consistently maintained the high ground of contending only for principles. What a functioning League of Nations might be expected to do, has actually been done by the representatives of the United States. Not once have they asked anything for America alone; their voice has been raised in behalf of the just claims of international law and right, and of peoples needing a champion. Both Allies and Turks have been held to clear principles, so far as possible. Flat-footed opposition to secret treaties and to special privileges was expressed by Ambassador Child, with disconcerting frankness, early in the sessions.

Part Played by America

The way in which America set forth the plea for an Armenian national home, and for the rights of minorities, illustrates the skill with which such matters are handled at Lausanne. The exhibits from American and Armenian sources were turned over to the Conference; and American approval of the desire for some place where the Armenians could be grouped in safety was candidly expressed. But the equal responsibility of the other nations for Armenia and the other minorities was clearly stated by citation of official utterances.

There is good reason to believe that the American observers were prepared to support a stiff fight for the rights of minorities in Turkey; but when the Allies, after considerable blustering, swung completely around to the Nansen-League proposition, there was nothing left for America to say; she could not combat both Turks and Allies—especially when she had no legal standing as a combatant.

Armenia's Destiny

Lausanne caps the climax of the Armenian national tragedy. At Paris Armenia was assured of territory for the working out of her own destiny, although the claims of the Armenian politicians were embarrassingly exorbitant. Events in Turkey since the Armistice have steadily diminished both the Armenian hope and the Armenian population. There is to-day no part of Turkey wherein Armenians are in anything like a majority of the inhabitants. To make a place anywhere for an Armenian home, it



AT THE LAUSANNE CONFERENCE—PREMIER POINCARÉ OF FRANCE, IN THE FRONT ROW TOWARD THE RIGHT; LORD CURZON, BRITAIN'S DELEGATE, AT THE EXTREME LEFT, AND, NEXT TO HIM, PREMIER MUSSOLINI OF ITALY

was admitted, would mean the expulsion of two-thirds or three-quarters of the present residents, or else to submit them to a minority rule of Armenians. So the Conference has finally dashed all expectation of a new Armenia. The Turks say that Armenians may remain in Turkey; it is only the Greeks that are being dispossessed; but as a matter of fact there are now practically no Armenians left in Anatolia; they have fled in terror to the Egean Islands, to Greece and to Syria.

So the friends of Armenia at Lausanne are turning toward the Soviet Republic of Armenia in the Caucasus as the refuge for the homeless Armenians. It is estimated that a large proportion of the refugees may find shelter and sustenance there. Privately, the Turks say that they are willing to evacuate the large Turkish population that remains in the Republic of Armenia, to make place for one hundred thousand or more Armenian settlers. An unofficial American emissary has gone to Moscow to secure the coöperation of the central Soviet

government in the plans for concentrating the Armenians of the world in the existing Armenian Nation, which is situated under the shadow of Ararat, the mountain that is the center of the race's history.

The Future of Christian Missions

Thus ends, and at Lausanne, where the Near Eastern wrongs were to have been righted, the long agitation throughout the world for another independent Armenia. Further discussion seems futile. The powers and the Turks have spoken. The case is hopeless; for there remains no square mile of Turkish territory wherein a majority population of Armenians can claim, as a right, the privilege of self-government. The brighter side to this tragic picture is that now that the Armenian population is out of Turkey there will be no more tales of atrocities and massacres. At least one bloody page of the Armenian question has been permanently turned—although there remains the bitter plight of the homeless refugees.

A distinguished missionary leader in Lausanne was philosophizing over the more optimistic aspect of removal of all Christians from Nationalist Turkey. Assured repeatedly by the Turkish leaders that all phases of American missionary activities may now continue or be resumed—barring the probable non-acceptability of certain individual missionaries who have been especially active in anti-Turkish propaganda in the United States—this authority mused, "It is quite possible that Christianity is in for a great advance among the Turks. Hitherto it has been handicapped by its identification with the Greek and Armenian churches, which have been primarily political in their character. They have been historically regarded as 'millets,' or communities of a nationalistic character. And they have been avowedly anti-Moslem, and, of late years, anti-Turkish. What this has meant to the missionary is little understood at home. He has stood for Christianity, and Christianity, in the mind of the Moslem, has been the sort of religion which the Greeks have represented—the Greeks, whom he long ago conquered and has always despised. For a Turk to join a Christian church under these circumstances was almost like a Southern white man's uniting with a negro congregation.

"Now all will be changed. The Turks have promised full liberty for missionary and educational work; and they will be able to judge Christianity on its merits, as taught and practiced by the Americans. With the awakened spirit that is now in Turkey, and the apparent purpose to separate the state from Islam, there is reason to anticipate such missionary progress as we have never known in the past. Henceforth our work is to be among Turks, and not among the members of corrupt oriental churches. The latter we shall deal with elsewhere, and seek to purify and spiritualize and serve by every means in our power."

The Exchange of Populations

In the meantime, growing grimmer with every fresh look at it, is the problem of the Christians, who by the League of Nations plan which Dr. Nansen proposed, are to be deported from Turkey, and of the Moslems who are to be deported from Greece. What Longfellow did for the deported Acadians, and the Hebrew psalmist did for the Jews deported to Babylon, will probably never be done by anybody for the populations

whom the Lausanne Conference has so comfortably "exchanged." An observer with a sense of the dramatic would expect these diplomats to be sweating blood over the colossal human tragedy to which they are a party. Imagination, however, is not an essential part of the diplomatic equipment, as this conference has shown. Else the endless round of dinners and dances and other diversions would be seriously interfered with. Like Banquo's ghost, the more than half-million "exchanged populations" would stand over every revel and banish joy.

In a few sentences, here is the situation: Something like a quarter to a half of a million Turkish Moslems (there are no exact statistics) reside in Greek territory, outside of Western Thrace. They have been there for so many generations that their roots have struck deep. Across the Egean (now, alas, without a Homer) a large number of Greeks—possibly three hundred thousand—remain in or near what has been the homeland of many of them for three thousand years. History in thick and shining layers encrusts the Greek story in Asia Minor.

The Conference has decided, upon the suggestion of Dr. Nansen, speaking for the League of Nations, to exchange these populations as the one way of settling forever the question of racial minorities. If there are no Greeks left in Turkey, there will be no Greeks killed by Turks; and if there are no Turks left in Greece there will be no Moslems massacred by Christians. Therefore the two groups should be transplanted into each other's place. That seems a simple solution to the minds of the Turks, with their nomadic instincts and inherited memories of vast treks of myriads from mid-Asia to the shores of Europe. When everybody's equipment was a horse, a share in a tent, and a few cattle, this migration was quite feasible.

In the present case, most of the Turks in Greece are peasants, whose few simple possessions may easily be loaded aboard ship and carried to the Asia Minor coast. The Greeks in Turkey are in large measure business men, rather than agriculturalists. Many, or most, of them are resident in towns and cities. Their possessions are of a mercantile character. "Good-will and fixtures," as the classified advertisements phrase it, may not be transported from one continent to another with equal facility. Besides, traders cannot live off traders, despite the story of the Chinese who sup-

ported themselves by doing one another's washing; and Greece has already about as many commercial men as she can maintain. The future of the Greeks who will be dumped upon the shores of Hellas is even darker than that of the unwillingly repatriated Turks. Aside from nostalgia, and the limitless human problems of individual adjustment, this "exchange of populations" implies a vast "settling down" and "settling up" that has scarcely a parallel in modern history.

Financing the Migrations

Theoretically, an international commission will oversee the migration of these myriads. Who is to pay the bills, when both nations concerned are bankrupt? The conference has got no farther than to decide that there will be a general appraisement and totalling of values concerned, and then the nation with a favorable balance will pay the other. Since the Greeks in Turkey are relatively prosperous, and in many cases wealthy, it is easily foreseen on which side of the ledger the balance will be found. Nevertheless, it is difficult to imagine Turkey's doing more than applying this hypothetical sum to the total of damages which she claims to have suffered from the Greeks.

Look more deeply into the personal aspect of this "exchange of populations" and it will be seen as a huge experiment in socialism. For by it all people are reduced to a common level, except that an attempt will be made to put farmers on farms, and shop-keepers into shops. Some provision is contemplated for individual compensation. Naturally, though, in this grand shuffle all persons are likely to be treated on a common level. The millionaire Greek merchant from Smyrna or Trebizond may equate an illiterate Turkish peasant from Thessaly. Heads are counted; bodies are herded; transportation is effected—and, lo, the wonder is wrought! Practically all the peoples concerned are rather sure to be reduced to a common plane of poverty. Is it any wonder that Greeks are leaving Turkey in a steady stream, while there is a chance to salvage some of their worldly goods?

Greeks now resident in Constantinople, and already subjects of the Ottoman Empire, are to be permitted to remain, by the arrangement already effected. They will have no status as Greeks, but only as citizens of Turkey. The powerful protection

which the Greek Patriarch has exercised over the Greek Christians for centuries, by the law of the "millet," has now been removed; for the Patriarch is permitted to stay in Constantinople only as a spiritual official, and by the full relinquishment of all his temporal claims, Church and State have been rudely separated. The present patriarch, Meletios, it is understood, is to be supplanted by another, more acceptable to Turkey, as will be the case also with the head of the Armenian Church in Constantinople.

Who Will Be the Traders?

Readers who know the Turkish inaptitude for commercial matters, and that historically the business of the Ottoman Empire has been carried on by Christians and Jews, are already asking, "But if all the Greeks are to leave Turkey, except a restricted number in Constantinople, who then will conduct the country's trade?" A most pertinent question. The answer is threefold. The Turks hope to go into business themselves; and as to that we shall see. Second, the Jews, and such Armenians as have not already taken flight, will largely succeed to the Greek commercial heritage, although the latter may be forced by the Turks or by their own Nationalist agitation to migrate from Turkey. That will leave the golden prize of Turkish trade to the Jews—whose status may be endangered by the growing anti-Zionist sentiment among Moslems—and to foreign business men, among whom the Americans will have the advantage of the popularity of their nation with all the eastern peoples.

Ghoulish as it may seem thus to speculate upon the economic advantages likely to follow the "exchange of populations," there is no better way of making clear the far-reaching changes involved in this immeasurable human tragedy. Even before the wholesale transfer of peoples can be effected—and it is scheduled for May—there will continue to be massacres and other atrocities upon both sides; for neither the Greeks nor the Turks in the Near East have been taught to forgive their enemies and to be merciful to their persecutors.

Elimination of Christian Peoples

During the first hectic period of triumph of the Young Turk party fifteen years ago, a veteran American missionary said to me, as we rode amid the gray groves of Lebanon

olives, "There will never be peace in this unhappy land until Moslems cease to rule over Christians, or Christians over Moslems." A dozen times since, in embassies and by desert caravan fires, and all sorts of places between, I have heard that same conclusion expressed by men who know the Near East. Now we are witnessing an attempt to practice that principle. The Turks have got rid of the problem of Christian minorities by getting rid of Christians. With the sanction of the Lausanne conference, the complete elimination of the Christian populations has been arranged. The exchange of Anatolian Christians for Macedonian Moslems is a prodigious movement, fraught with tragic consequences of many sorts. The incongruity of the plan's having been suggested by Dr. Nansen in behalf of the League of Nations will cause world-wide discussion. Naturally, the method was eagerly accepted by the Turks, as landing them at their coveted goal of an exclusively Moslem country—and that with the approval of the Christian powers.

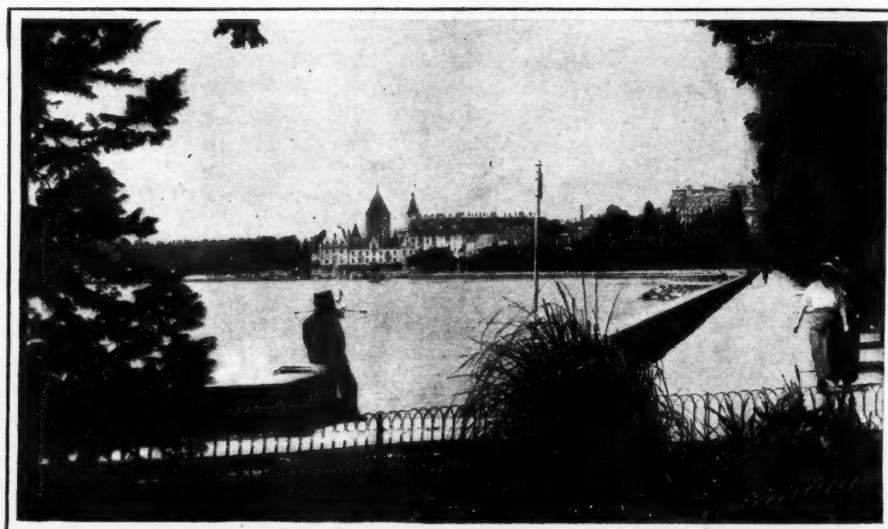
Amenities of the Conference

On its lesser human-interest side the Conference is appealing, and often amusing. There is the schoolmasterly manner in which Lord Curzon at first dealt with Ismet Pasha—which abated after a time, as the Allies had to give up point after point and

the Turks revealed that, while they did not flourish their weapons as much as others, they really possessed them, and knew that they were loaded.

In the most fashionable hostelry, hard by the château where meetings are held, the British, the Americans and Italians have been established, though by no means as a "bloc." The Hejaz, Iran, Bulgarian, Rumanian and Belgian delegations are under the same roof.

The British keep well to their own end of the hotel, where they have a large staff of workers. One diplomat is assigned by the British to meet the English-speaking press men twice every day, and it is almost wholly upon him that the newspapers of America and Great Britain are dependent. One attending these daily séances rather gets the impression that the Turks have come to Lausanne to be taught a thing or two, and if they don't behave better the Allies will really lose patience with them! Whereas, the tragic truth is that Turkey is back in Europe as a conqueror, and knows it; and also knows, apparently better than Lord Curzon himself, that an Allied army to fight the Turks is to-day utterly impossible, and that the British nation will not consent to a war in Turkey over either the capitulations or Mosul oil. So, after all, it is really the Turks' Conference at Lausanne.



A GLIMPSE OF LAUSANNE, ON LAKE GENEVA, WHERE THE NEAR EAST CONFERENCE WAS HELD

NINE GOVERNORS OF THE MIDDLE WEST

BY ALBERT SHAW

[This is the second in a series of three articles on newly elected Governors and their programs. The first, in the February number, dealt with Eastern Governors; and the third, to be printed next month, will relate to the States of the far West and South.]

OHIO'S DEMOCRATIC EXECUTIVE

THE recent experience of Ohio shows that the Buckeye State, like many of its sister commonwealths, is disposed to think of its own affairs as too important merely to be dragged at the chariot wheel of national politics. The new Governor, A. V. Donahey, has not served in Congress or played a conspicuous part in promoting the presidential ambitions of one or another of Ohio's long list of aspirants and favorite sons. On the contrary, Governor Vic Donahey, to use what is now his official as well as his popular name, has been solely identified with local and State affairs.

He ran for the governorship in 1920 on the Democratic ticket. He was defeated, but his vote was almost 140,000 ahead of that which Ohio gave for Mr. Cox as the Democratic presidential candidate. If the election had not been held in association with presidential and congressional contests, Mr. Donahey might have been victorious. Under those circumstances, his renomination in the Democratic primaries of 1922 was inevitable. Far from voting straight party tickets, the electors of Ohio chose Mr. Donahey for Governor at the same time that they elected Mr. Fess (Rep.) to the United States Senate. Furthermore, they elected to the State legislature a very large majority of Republicans in both branches.

Governor Donahey, whose father and grandfather were also born in Ohio, learned the printing trade as a boy in his native county of Tuscarawas and has been in the printing business in his small home city of

New Philadelphia. He is forty-nine years old and has had twelve children of whom ten are living. He began to fill local and county offices while still in his twenties, with a popularity due to his honesty and good qualities. He was a valuable member of Ohio's famous constitutional convention of 1912. In that year, and again four years later, he was elected Auditor of the State. He was ending a service of eight years as Auditor when he ran for Governor in 1920.

Mr. Donahey's message to the Eighty-fifth General Assembly of Ohio was delivered on January 9. It is wholly devoted to State affairs, and has the ring of strong and sincere conviction, while entirely free from narrowness or partisanship.

For many years Ohio has been wrestling with problems of taxation. It is now 120 years since its admission as a State, and its farming population has long been decidedly in the minority. Mr. Donahey says: "Three-fourths of Ohio's six million population reside in cities and villages and receive rations daily distributed by jobbers and wholesalers to retailers and finally to consumers." It is recommended that the State should improve a much larger mileage of roads in the farming districts, and spend less relatively upon the more expensive type of main thoroughfares.

We are told that Ohio has now nearly 800,000 motor vehicles and will soon have one million, which would mean one for every six persons. Automobile tags are made in the State penitentiary, and the Governor says that several hundred thousand dollars could be saved by removing automobile registration from the office of



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A. V. DONAHEY
(Ohio)

the Secretary of State and turning it over to the prison authorities. This he says would "be another step toward the elimination of the infamous idle house at the penitentiary." He would turn the local distribution of tags over to the county treasurer's office in each of the eighty-eight counties, issuing the tags in March instead of January, at a time when the treasurers are not busy with their semi-annual tax collection periods.

The whole subject of taxation forms the principal portion of Mr. Donahey's message. He finds the government over-organized, with far too many commissions and agencies, and constant pressure upon the State to increase its indebtedness and its outlays. His demand for tax reform and for economy in expenditure is thoroughgoing and specific in its statements. One of his most striking proposals is the removal of restraints upon local tax districts in their dealing with home affairs. In all matters of local policy, however, having to do with the issue of bonds and the expenditure of money, he would use the principle of the initiative and referendum.

Growing out of a policy adopted in early days, the State is now supporting four universities and two normal schools. Mr. Donahey says it is too late to discuss the error of the pioneer statesmen in subsidizing several colleges rather than creating one central university. But he remarks that these six institutions for higher education have a total of seventy-six trustees to manage their affairs, and that their six presidents are put in the unpleasant position of having to lobby more or less competitively for State appropriations. He strongly advises one board of control for the six, authorized to deal with the whole situation as regards support of higher education, and to bring in a unified budget.

Improvements in the workmen's compensation law and kindred topics are ably discussed in the message. Thus there are an old-age pension bill and a minimum-wage proposal before the legislature; and Governor Donahey believes that the law-makers should, as regards matters of this kind, leave it to those favoring the innovations to come forward with extensively signed petitions under the Ohio law which provides for the initiative as well as for the referendum.

A reading of Mr. Donahey's message leaves the clear impression that for some time to come a State like Ohio should devote

itself to a thorough revision of its administrative and financial methods. The State has endeavored to promote the welfare of its people from time to time in many ways, by creating special services which might now either be dispensed with altogether, turned over to counties or cities, or else merged with other agencies. It is fairly probable that Ohio could so reorganize its public business as to give its six million people quite as much real service as they actually receive, while saving the taxpayers nearly or quite half of the pecuniary burden they are carrying.

It is our purpose in articles on Governors, and State policies, of which this is the second, to consider primarily the programs set forth by those executives who were elected last November. Indiana and Illinois, for example, were not electing new Governors, although their legislatures are now in session. Governors' inaugurals in those States were delivered two years ago, both Governors being elected for four-year terms.

GOVERNOR GROESBECK'S SECOND TERM IN MICHIGAN

Michigan, like Ohio, elects its Governor for two years, and the incumbent is Hon. A. J. Groesbeck (Republican), who was inaugurated January 1. He is a new Governor in the sense of entering upon a new term, having served in the office since January, 1921. Alexander J. Groesbeck, who reached the age of forty-nine on Election Day last November, was born as a country boy in Michigan and went from the public schools to study law at the State University. He was admitted to the Bar at the age of twenty, and when first elected Governor in the fall of 1920 he was completing four years as Attorney-General of his State.

Although Mr. Townsend was defeated for re-election to the United States Senate by his Democratic competitor, Mr. Ferris, the Republican State ticket was elected with Republican majorities in the legislature. In his message of January 4, Mr. Groesbeck gives first place to State finances, pointing out the good results of a new and improved accounting system. "A comprehensive fiscal plan should now be formulated for our future guidance which will preclude further deficits, adequately provide for public requirements, and assure a distribution of the burden over a period of years." Michigan has to provide for a \$30,000,000 bond issue

for soldiers' bonus. Almost an equal amount of State highway obligations are outstanding, apart from the bonded debts of the counties for roads. The total road-building program in Michigan is proceeding on a large and elaborate scale. Governor Groesbeck urges the completion of this program while Federal aid is still available.

In Michigan, as in many other States, the taxing of the automobile business in order to make it pay its share for road improvement is a live issue. The legislature opened discussion in January with a report from a tax commission which recommends a State tax of one cent a gallon on gasoline. Detroit legislators seem to favor increasing automobile license fees, rather than the enactment of a gasoline tax. It should be remarked that Michigan, and Ohio also, last November voted down at the polls a proposal to levy a State income tax. The country folks are for the gasoline tax, while the cities seem to oppose it.

The Governor refers particularly in his message to the very important report upon taxation in general that has been made, on legislative authority, by Mr. George Lord as chairman of the commission whose proposals include the gasoline tax.

Ohio, as Governor Donahey shows, has a great interest in the preservation of the Lake Erie fisheries; and a conference of all the States bordering on that Lake is proposed, including the Province of Ontario. Governor Groesbeck makes reference also to the importance of the Great Lakes fisheries, believing that Michigan itself could derive some income from a sales tax on the fish catch of lakes Erie, Huron, Michigan and Superior. Mr. Donahey's views would seem to have a more constructive character.

Mr. Groesbeck's message is that of an official who is dealing carefully and responsibly with the business affairs of his State. Without the slightest tinge of "politics," it is sound and conservative in its economic and administrative views.



ALEXANDER J.
GROESBECK
(Michigan)

GOVERNOR BLAINE CONTINUES IN WISCONSIN

When John J. Blaine was first elected Governor of Wisconsin in 1920, he was forty-five years old, and had been a practising lawyer at Boscobel in Grant County, where he was born, for twenty-three years. He had gone from high school to law studies and had become an active man in his county by the time he had reached his majority. He was interested in farming as well as in law practice, was mayor of Boscobel for several terms, and an official of the county; he sat in the State Senate for a number of years; and he was elected Attorney-General of Wisconsin in 1918, serving in that capacity until he stepped up into the office of Governor. He is a Republican, who has always been affiliated with what is known as the LaFollette progressive faction of the party.

When he and his associates were sworn in on January 1 of this year, this element obtained "an undivided control of the machinery of Wisconsin's Government."

The Governor's message, presented on January 11, is a systematic document which gives the outside reader an interesting survey of the topics that are regarded

as of immediate concern to the citizens of Wisconsin, as they are carrying on the business of a sovereign State. A considerable part of the message is devoted to questions of taxation and finance, these being at the very forefront just now in almost every one of our States. State highway policies and rural conditions are among the leading topics. Questions of labor and of education have prominence.

Governor Blaine is of opinion that the expenses of Government which have grown so much faster than the population ought to be checked; and he thinks that we can at least "start the downward trend of taxes." He shows that Wisconsin's aggregate property-tax revenue, which was less than \$33,000,000 in 1912, was more than



JOHN J. BLAINE
(Wisconsin)

\$97,000,000 in 1922; while the State income tax, which in 1913 yielded in round figures \$1,600,000, amounted in 1922 to more than \$7,000,000. These figures sum up the revenues raised by local as well as State tax authorities for all purposes.

Referring to the instruments of government, Mr. Blaine reviews the Initiative and Referendum after some years of experience, with strong commendation. He says that "there is scarcely a State in the Union which does not explicitly provide for the use of the Initiative and Referendum in some form." Fourteen States apply the initiative to constitutional amendments, Ohio and Massachusetts being among these. He advocates the Recall, under careful restrictions. He favors a law permitting the law-making body to remove appointed State officers, "as the next step in developing an administrative government responsible to the people through the legislature."

Like every other State, "Wisconsin faces the problem of readjusting her tax burdens equitably." Governor Blaine proceeds to explain the two tax systems of his State: "One, taxation of tangible property, real and personal; the other, taxation of incomes, privileges, and occupations." He finds that assessed valuations have been increasing and taxes on tangible property growing higher, with no established rates. The income tax rate on the other hand is fixed. Wisconsin's income tax law was passed in 1911, and ten per cent. of its yield goes into the State treasury.

The State obtains about ten times as much income from real and personal property taxes paid directly as from income taxes. Of late years Wisconsin has had a system of surtaxes levied for specific purposes. Thus a surtax one year was levied for a soldiers' bonus. An educational bonus tax for soldiers was levied to run five years. There remains a teachers' retirement fund tax as the only surtax on incomes. School taxes in Wisconsin are "a surtax on real and personal property." Wisconsin property, real and personal, is assessed at \$4,500,000,000. Upon this property nearly \$100,000,000 yearly taxes are paid. The Governor makes a long argument in favor of increasing relatively the taxes on incomes. The principles involved are faced with frankness, and the presentation made by Governor Blaine contributes valuably to the present nation-wide discussion of taxation. He looks "to the ultimate repeal

of the personal property tax and the substitution thereof by an income tax."

He proposes to begin with a thorough study of the facts from the standpoint of localities. Last March Governor Blaine called a special session of the legislature to consider the repeal of the secrecy clause as related to income tax returns. This question so entered into the election of the legislature that it is assumed that the people of Wisconsin thoroughly favor a repeal. Recent field audits have greatly increased the yield of the State income tax.

Governor Blaine presents a graphic picture of the change that has come about in the use of highways by reason of the enormous growth of motor-driven vehicles. He declares that this revolutionary change requires an entirely different method of maintaining what have now become arteries of trade and commerce rather than mere adjuncts of the farm or the home. It is recommended that the State trunk highways should be maintained and built from State and Federal funds henceforth, without the requirement of the raising of a proportionate share by counties or localities.

"There is a relation," says the Governor, "between a highway and the use thereof. The user of the road should pay the larger share of the tax." To quote the Governor further, "there is a relation between a highway and the type of vehicle that operates upon the highway." A graduated license fee is the remedy proposed. The heavy motor trucks and passenger busses should come under regulation, both to save the highways from destruction and also to secure greater revenue.

For a long time Wisconsin has been agitating the problems of coöperation and marketing. The last session of the legislature enacted a complete law, by reason of which the agricultural producers can reach the consumers much more advantageously than before.

There are a number of interesting recommendations in the message relating to workmen's compensation laws, and certain changes that experience shows to be desirable. There is a severe attack upon anti-strike laws and compulsory arbitration. Governor Blaine, in mentioning these subjects, does not discriminate between ordinary private employment and those that in their nature are of a public character. He proceeds to a discussion of railroad shops and terminals, and argues in favor of State action that would prevent a railroad from

inconveniencing a community of striking workers by removing its repair shops to some other locality. The Governor's arguments for liberty should apply both ways.

Dealing with education, Governor Blaine argues that the machinery is growing unduly elaborate. He demands equal opportunities for farm and city children, with less emphasis upon professional and technical courses. Wisconsin has taken so high a place in the educational world that changes in its system should follow only after careful surveys, wholly free from political influence.

MINNESOTA'S FINANCIAL PROBLEMS

Governor Jacob A. O. Preus, of Minnesota, entered upon a second two-year term on January 3, with a timely and practical address to the legislature. He was born in August, 1883, and therefore was only thirty-seven years old when he was first elected Governor in 1920. But he had served a long apprenticeship for the post of Minnesota's chief executive. Born of a Norwegian family in Wisconsin, educated at Luther College in Northern Iowa, and taking afterwards a full course in the law school of the State University of Minnesota, Mr. Preus at once became associated as a clerk or secretary with Senator Knute Nelson. This was in 1906. After three years he became executive clerk to Minnesota's Governor; was then State Insurance Commissioner for four years; and when elected Governor he had been State Auditor for six years.

Assuredly this still youthful Governor has during a continuous period of more than sixteen years of official work had ample opportunity to learn all about the public business of Minnesota. He has always been a Republican, and it is to be noted that he carried the State last fall when Senator Kellogg was defeated and Mr. Shipstead, running for the United States Senate as a Farmer-Labor independent, carried the State. We have here a further illustration of the fact that voters are now discriminating sharply between State and national issues, even though they are presented on the same ballot paper.

In his message, Governor Preus reminds us that the voters last fall by an enormous majority ratified the constitutional amendment to enable the State to establish a rural

credit system. He admonishes the legislature to carry out this policy in such a way as to aid actual farmers and not to promote land speculation. Two years ago Minnesota decided to develop the coöperative method in farm marketing, and the Governor shows that the results have already been conspicuous. He advises a plan of negotiable warehouse receipts to help the farmer handle his wheat. He recommends also a consolidation of a large number of boards, commissions, and bureaus that Minnesota has created in connection with agriculture.

Minnesota, like all her neighbors, is giving chief place to the current problems of taxation. More than three-fourths of Governor Preus's message has to do with the raising and spending of money. Public functions, the Governor believes, have been increasing quite too rapidly. Not only do the people demand more kinds of service, but they expect much better things—that is to say, better schools, buildings, roads,—than in former periods. The total taxes levied in Minnesota in 1911 were \$33,747,000. Ten years later, the levy was \$108,019,000. Schools, roads, bridges—these items account

for most of the increased expenditure. About 40 per cent. of all the money raised goes for education. The Governor commends the activity that has been shown in road-building, but calls a halt for the present.

Explanation is made of the difficulties Minnesota has encountered in trying to obtain a revenue from the mining of iron ore in the northern part of the State. The royalties on leased lands escape taxation. This situation leads the Governor to advocate the establishment of a State income tax. He declares that the tax burden has grown much too heavy for the owners of homes, of farms, and of ordinary business establishments. He sees relief in the taxation of incomes; and he advises the submission of a constitutional amendment to the people to provide for "the taxation of



J. O. A. PREUS
(Minnesota)

incomes progressively, differentiating between incomes earned by labor and those earned through investments, and permitting reasonable exemptions." He would dispense with the personal property tax, and would exempt from taxes farm products in the hands of producers, household goods, the seed that is to be sown, and some of the implements and utensils of production. The message as a whole is an economic document significant of present trends of thought in the Middle West.

GOVERNOR KENDALL PICTURES THE IOWA FARMER'S NEEDS

The Governor of Iowa, Hon. Nathan E. Kendall, was born almost fifty-five years ago in the State which has now honored him with a second consecutive term as its chief executive. He began law practice in his home city of Albia, before he was old enough to vote; and, after filling the offices of city and county attorney for some years, he became versed in State affairs through a service of ten years in the legislature, being Speaker of the House during his last term. His next public experience comprised two terms as the representative in Congress of the Sixth Iowa District. In 1920 he was elected Governor by a majority of almost 175,000; and last November he was re-elected, his majority having grown to almost a quarter of a million. The State of Iowa has, therefore, undoubtedly set the stamp of approval upon the public work of Governor Kendall.

The Governor's message of January 11 plunges at once into the subject of agriculture, as the most absorbing topic of what he terms "an imperial commonwealth, with 35,000,000 acres of the most varied, the most responsive, and the most productive soil in the world." He contrasts the natural wealth of the State with the distressing adversity of the past three years. He finds "no just or rational relationship existing between the price of what the farmer has to sell and the cost of what he has to buy." He proceeds to paint a picture of present agricultural conditions in Iowa that will stand as historic, and will be studied by economists in future periods.

Governor Kendall criticizes the policy of the Federal Reserve Board in its deflation program of 1920, and praises the War Finance Corporation for its recent measures of relief. But he seeks for Iowa a program

of her own, to protect agriculture as the State's foremost industry from the "recurrence of such a calamity as it has endured the past two years." He regards the Norris bill pending at Washington for creating a Government corporation to handle agricultural products as beyond the range of things probable; but he believes that the States themselves could accomplish much.

He views most favorably the system now operating in South Dakota, and he assumes that Minnesota under the rural credit amendment to the Constitution will adopt a similar plan. South Dakota sells State bonds, and loans the proceeds to farmers under restrictions as to percentage of valuation and total amount. Under this South Dakota plan, the money is repaid gradually through thirty-five years, unless the borrower chooses to pay sooner.

The State bonds bear 4½ per cent. interest, and the farmer pays 5 per cent. A large amount of Eastern capital has been brought into the State, and the plan thus far is working well. Governor Kendall commends it for consideration in Iowa.

A State Tax Commission has re-

cently made recommendations, and Iowa undoubtedly needs to reform its taxing system no less than neighboring States. One of the first things proposed is the unifying of assessment methods, with elimination of many hundreds of local assessors. Assessment of property at full valuation is a recommendation too obvious to need discussion. The message discusses taxation suggestively; but the Governor is deferring to the Tax Commission and is not making positive proposals of his own.

We are glad to learn that law enforcement in Iowa has become relatively efficient, by reason of a more complete authority conferred upon the Attorney-General. The Governor upholds primary elections as against those who would revert to old methods of nomination. Commending the work of a number of women who have recently held positions on State boards, the



N. E. KENDALL
(Iowa)

Governor urges the immediate removal of every discrimination in the Constitution and statutes "against the enjoyment by women of every prerogative now exercised by men."

An attractive picture is presented by Governor Kendall of the eagerness of the young people of Iowa to study in the schools and colleges. At the State University, there are 7,000 students as contrasted with 2,000 ten years ago; and other State institutions show similar increases. The Iowa school authorities are proposing new normal schools, and the Governor supports an expanded educational program with unflinching enthusiasm. He concludes his message with an eloquent appeal for the development of an ideal State. In spite of the political controversies that attended the recent election of Senator Brookhart, and, in spite of the sharpness with which the recent drop in agricultural prices checked the Hawkeye State's normal prosperity, Iowa is *par excellence* our commonwealth of optimism, pervaded by an unconquerable spirit of equality and fraternity.

NORTH DAKOTA'S REPUBLICAN GOVERNOR

Hon. R. A. Nestos, who was elected Governor of North Dakota in November by a decisive plurality against an opponent who was supported by the Non-Partisan League, has been a Republican all his life, but was not victorious merely by reason of North Dakota's predilections in favor of a traditional party name. North Dakota for a number of years past has been conspicuous as a State striving boldly and adventurously for an economic policy of its own. It would be superfluous for an outsider to pronounce judgment upon the motives of Northwestern farmers in joining the Non-Partisan League and attempting to put the League's theories into practice. Waves of sentiment have from time to time swept across the agricultural States of the Northwest, like the prairie fires of other days.

To settle a new area rapidly, to give it an immense agricultural output with dependence upon distant markets, to meet modern demands for up-to-date services of all kinds,—in short, to bring society from the early pioneer phase to stable and mature conditions, is a process fraught with rapid alternation of high hopes and bitter disappointments. There are speculative periods with prosperity for everybody, and

there are periods of reaction with bad crops, foreclosed mortgages, and moods of tragic darkness. The Dakotas have had their full share of these ups and downs. Railroads, grain elevator companies, flour milling corporations, money lenders, cattle buyers, and meat packers, have all seemed in conspiracy against the unorganized and helpless farmers. The Non-Partisan League proposed to make the State itself a central agency for economic co-operation. The State was to go into the banking business, and to finance agriculture. The State was to assume regulation of the grading and handling of wheat, to establish great elevators and flour mills, and in various ways to assert economic independence.

In North Dakota the Non-Partisan League made a sweeping success at the polls in 1918 and elected Lynn J. Frazier Governor with the support of a Non-Partisan League legislature. Some of the great enterprises as proposed were undertaken. Frazier was elected Governor for a second term in 1920, against a growing and determined opposition. League affairs were not going so well, and practice was proving a very different thing from theory.

The Constitution of North Dakota has a provision for the recall of elected officials. In the summer of 1921 a sufficient number of petitioners demanded the recall of Governor Frazier to secure a test at the polls. R. A. Nestos was brought forward as an independent candidate, and for the first time in the history of the United States the people of a State voted out of office a Governor who had been chosen at a regular election, and endorsed another man to fill out the term.

Having elected Mr. Nestos at the recall election October 28, 1921, the people of North Dakota again gave him their votes for a full term of his own at the recent election, in November, 1922. He was inaugurated on January 3 of the present year for a two-year term.

Governor Ragnvald Anderson Nestos is one of the most vigorous and promising



R. A. NESTOS
(North Dakota)

men now in American public life. He belongs to the splendid Norwegian stock that has taken so valuable a part in the upbuilding of the Northwest, especially of Minnesota and the Dakotas. He was born at Voss, in Norway, and is now in his forty-sixth year. He came to the United States at the age of sixteen, graduating at a North Dakota normal school at the age of twenty-three, taking a degree at the University of Wisconsin when twenty-five, and a law degree at the University of North Dakota two years later. With experience as a Prosecuting Attorney and in the State legislature, he came rapidly forward as a man fitted for leadership.

His recent election as Governor follows six years of strong opposition to the Non-Partisan League, during which period he demonstrated not only his talent for politics but his right to claim the confidence of the people as a man of character and of sound judgment. As Governor, Mr. Nestos has been remarkably successful in reorganizing the affairs of the State and in improving North Dakota's credit. The State's great flouring mills and grain elevators at Grand Forks had advanced too far to be abandoned; and Governor Nestos proceeded in good faith to the completion of those projects.

He reorganized the Bank of North Dakota and greatly expedited the work of its farm loan department.

His inaugural address in November, 1921, was delivered to a public audience, the legislature not being in session. It was a brief but reassuring statement, particularly as regarded the solvency and economic outlook of the State. Last September Governor Nestos made an address entitled, "What We Promised and What We Have Done," that could hardly be surpassed as a candid and aggressive campaign document. It was a drastic exposure of the conditions which led to the downfall of the Non-Partisan League's control of State affairs.

Thus having reviewed with unsparing analysis the failure of the League's administration, he gave a clear summary of the work that his own administration had been doing, after which he proceeded on a plane of high reasoning to advocate the election

of Mr. O'Connor to the United States Senate, although Frazier had won the Republican nomination and O'Connor was running as a Democrat. The issue in North Dakota, Mr. Nestos declared, was "between radicalism and constitutionalism," and he gave high praise to Mr. O'Connor. Nestos himself carried the polls, but O'Connor was defeated and Frazier was sent to the Senate, to succeed McCumber.

The Governor's message of January 3 reviews the State's industries and finances with an ample supply of comparative statistics. Taxes and expenditures have doubled within a few years, and economy is urged and a revised tax system is suggested.

It is recommended that North Dakota give four-year terms to its elected officials, including members of the lower branch of the legislature, with State Senators elected for eight years, and with regular legislative sessions occurring only once in four years. Sound suggestions are made regarding the management of the mill and elevator enterprises at Grand Forks, and the Bank of North Dakota.

Dealing with agriculture, the Governor touches upon the difficulties due to the fact that North Dakota is to so great an extent a one-crop State. He advocates farmers' coöperation, and loans upon warehouse receipts. Looking to the future, he touches upon the interesting possibilities of the lignites and clays of his State, and the waterpower that may be derived on an enormous scale from the improvement of the Missouri River.

He discusses educational plans and programs with sympathy and intelligence, and makes a strong appeal for law enforcement. There are many other matters in the message that are of current interest to the people of the State itself; but for the country at large the important thing to know is that the affairs of North Dakota are now under the direction of men not only of conspicuous ability but of sound judgment.

FARM AID IN SOUTH DAKOTA

The political life of South Dakota has not been so stormy in recent years as that of its neighbor on the North, but its



W. H. McMASTER
(South Dakota)

economic policies in particular have been of interest and importance, and are worth our attention. Governor William Henry McMaster, who was inaugurated on January 2, had received in November a strong endorsement at the polls, having been elected to the same office in 1920. He was born in Iowa in 1877 and will be forty-six years old in May. He is a graduate of Beloit College in Wisconsin. Mr. McMaster as a business man and banker is a citizen of Pierre, the State capital, and had served a term as Lieutenant Governor before his first election to his present office.

In a recent letter, Governor McMaster informed us that he would urge upon the present legislature "the complete reorganization of the State Government upon a business basis, the foundation for which was supplied by the recent Efficiency Survey." He proceeded, however, to declare that "the most important policy is that of aid to the agricultural interests of the State." Relief for farmers presents itself to his mind in the form of reduced transportation charges, improved credit facilities, and assistance for coöperative movements. His inaugural address begins with a somewhat extended review of the methods by which nations and communities have used governmental means to develop their industries and commerce.

This review is prefatory to his presentation of the need of organized methods for protecting agriculture. He shows that grain in South Dakota was produced at a loss in 1922. He advocates development of home markets, coöperative agencies, and improvement of credits. The discussion of transportation in the message makes it clear that, with low prices for farm products, it is almost impossible for South Dakota farmers to reach distant markets. The immediate remedies are difficult inasmuch as the fundamental trouble has to do with markets and prices rather than with cost of transportation. Our Western States have developed their agriculture on the supposition that there would always be a large and profitable demand in distant communities for bread and meat produced on our new prairie soils. Governor McMaster inspires confidence in his efforts to lead his State prudently and wisely, in a period when

world conditions are adverse, and when the immediate emergencies of American agriculture are principally due to factors that are beyond local control.

"BROTHER CHARLES" BRYAN LEADS IN NEBRASKA

The new Governor of Nebraska is Hon. Charles W. Bryan, who was elected as a Democrat by a large majority over a very good Republican candidate. At the same time, as our readers will remember, Nebraska elected Hon. R. B. Howell, a Republican, to the United States Senate by a majority even larger than that which Bryan secured for Governor. Leading candidates

in Nebraska last fall were men of high standing on both tickets, and the people knew exactly why they sent Howell to the Senate and preferred Bryan for Governor. In the City of Omaha, R. B. Howell had been a progressive leader in municipal affairs, and he had earned State-wide confidence and popularity. In the capital city of Lincoln, Charles W. Bryan in a somewhat similar fashion had recently dominated local affairs, had saved money for everybody by municipalizing the coal business, and he had made himself influential throughout the State by a long

and consistent career as a citizen having courage as well as convictions.

All Democratic politicians, and Republicans too, throughout the United States, have long been aware that "Brother Charlie" was running the *Commoner* at Lincoln for his brother, William Jennings Bryan. Charles is seven years younger than W. J. He has been office-editor and general manager of the *Commoner*, and associated in business with his more distinguished brother, for fully twenty-five years. The Republican State ticket as a whole carried the polls last November, and the new legislature has a Republican majority in both houses. But Bryan's personal popularity swept him into office by a majority of 50,000 votes.

Governor Bryan has not seemed at all uneasy about having to deal with a Republican legislature. He does not think of the affairs of the State of Nebraska in terms of national party politics. He is not



CHARLES W. BRYAN
(Nebraska)

a great orator like his brother, but there are those who would be inclined to the opinion that for practical administration of public affairs he is the better qualified of the two. Like most Western Governors, he advocates in his message to the legislature (January 4) strict economy, a curtailing of all unnecessary services, and a careful reorganization of the State's administrative machine. Official figures show that Nebraska now raises \$75,000,000 a year in taxes, of which one-fifth is taken by Uncle Sam, leaving \$60,000,000 for the State itself and its subdivisions. Of this sum, about eleven millions has been going into the State treasury, twelve millions to the counties, twenty-four millions to schools, and nearly eleven millions to towns, villages, and townships. Governor Bryan has a number of suggestions for the better equalization of the burden of taxation. Farms and real estate, he holds, are bearing more than their share, and so-called "intangible property" is escaping. He advocates a State income tax on the Wisconsin plan, and also a graduated inheritance tax running from one to five per cent. He opposes a gasoline tax.

For four years past, Nebraska has been operating under a civil administrative code which in Governor Bryan's opinion ought to be abolished. This code centralizes executive responsibility in the Governor, not merely for purposes of executive work, but also for decision upon many administrative policies which in Bryan's opinion ought to be considered by a board consisting of five principal State officers. He points out the need of consolidating certain departments and agencies. These issues were thoroughly discussed in the campaign, and the new Governor considers that his election was tantamount to a referendum.

Since 1909, bank deposits have been guaranteed under Nebraska law, and present business conditions give a new importance to that system, the maintenance of which is recommended. At the last election the voters strongly sustained the primary election system, and defeated a proposal to modify and change it. Governor Bryan favors removing the party circle from the ballot. He asks to have the present high automobile license tax reduced by fifty per cent.; does not believe in federal aid to roads; advises giving the automobile license money in large part to counties and localities.

He recommends agricultural coöperation, and would exempt coöperative com-

panies from anti-trust laws. He recommends a rural credit system modeled after the South Dakota law, in accordance with which the State borrows money on the sale of its own bonds and lends direct to farmers on mortgage. He also recommends improvements in the State warehouse laws in order to have them correspond with the Federal laws under which warehouse receipts are made a basis for loans.

We are told that Nebraska might develop sufficient water-power to heat and light the homes of the entire State, and to establish manufactures in competition with the East. His recommendations on this score rest upon sound economic principles. He advises a uniform method of issuing local bonds, and shows throughout his entire message a firm grasp upon local problems.

Readers in the East should be made aware that Charles W. Bryan is as strong a supporter of prohibition as his brother, and that he forced Nebraska Democrats to take their stand with the "drys" against the preferences of Senator Hitchcock, who was running for reelection.

A DEMOCRAT'S PROGRAM IN KANSAS

The new Governor of Kansas made a picturesque campaign and carried his State handsomely as a Democrat, although both houses of the legislature are in control of the Republicans. Hon. Jonathan M. Davis had appealed to the popular fancy, and was elected for personal reasons, just as "Charlie" Bryan was elected in Nebraska. Henry J. Allen, the retiring Republican Governor, had served for four years (two successive terms of two years each), and in the campaign of 1920 Allen had defeated Davis by about 100,000 majority. That Davis should in 1922 run again and carry the State decisively, shows how violently the political pendulum may oscillate in a prairie State like Kansas, where people vote as they think and feel.

The Eastern press made it appear that Davis was a sort of "hick" or "rube," these being metropolitan terms for the typical farmer as he is shown on the stage and in the comic press. As a matter of fact, Governor Davis is a competent and highly trained man of public affairs. He and his son (who was an aviator in the war) have a great live-stock farm of 1700 acres, which is run on scientific principles with an up-to-

date accounting system; and they breed Percheron horses, Shorthorn cattle, and Poland China hogs. His grandfather went to Kansas, and he himself now carries on the farm upon which he was born. He was educated at the State University, and is as far from being a freak or an accident in his elevation to his present office as is any one of the New England Governors about whom we wrote in this magazine last month.

Mr. Davis, writing informally to the Editor of this magazine in December, made the following statements:

I am, as you know, a farmer, with no other interest except farming. I have served in the Legislature, both in the House and Senate; eight years in the House; four years in the Senate; my last service being in the session of 1915. I am the author of the law under which Kansas publishes text books; a law which saves to the purchasers of text books more than two hundred thousand dollars each year.

My election probably was due as much to my stand for economy and lower taxes, both State and local, as to any other one cause. My opposition to the Industrial Court law, in its present form, also contributed to my election. When I say "in its present form," I mean because it has failed to function, and it costs an unreasonable amount of money. It has had just one case before it, in the year past; the other cases that were filed being industrial or welfare cases rather than industrial court cases. This on the information of one of the judges.

The appropriation for the court in 1921, outside of the industrial and welfare features, was \$107,400. Our Supreme Court, handling between seven and eight hundred cases a year, cost less than \$70,000 for the year.

My policy for the State, briefly stated, is: To relieve as much as possible the present burdens resting upon the farmer and small home-owner, and to advance, in progressive and forward-looking legislation, Kansas to the forefront of the States of the Union. There will be no backward steps as far as law enforcement or the preservation of order is concerned in the State, but it will not be done in any spirit of vainglory, or to attract notice.

I expect to propose to the legislature an income tax with a high enough exemption to practically eliminate the small home-owner and the already over-burdened farmer, in an effort to equalize the burden which now rests too heavily upon the owner of tangible property as in contra-distinction to the owner of intangibles.

The long service in the legislature, to which Mr. Davis refers above, has given him detailed acquaintance with the methods of public business as well as with the specific affairs of his own State. It is natural enough that the country at large should have been

interested in the impending fate of the Kansas Industrial Court. It is not likely that even Governor Davis himself would wholly repudiate the valuable experiment that Kansas has been making under Governor Allen's leadership, inasmuch as it is through practical experience that we must solve some of the most difficult of our current problems. The best minds of the country are agreed that strikes in coal mining and in transportation are intolerable, and that—if the interests of workers are duly safeguarded—such strikes should not be permitted.

Governor Davis' message to the legislature on January 10 opens with an impressive statement showing the practical plight of the farmers of the country, as explaining much of what is current as "so-called radicalism." He proceeds to argue that the first great step to be taken is to reduce to a minimum the expense of government, and the charges for public service. His tone is calm and just in its recognition of the valid reasons for the recent growth of public expenditure; but he argues that we have been overdoing the amplification of government functions. His discussion, let us remark, is an exceedingly able one, from theoretical as well as practical standpoints. It is up to high Kansas standards.

He advocates an immediate reorganization that would reduce the salaries of State officials by a large amount. He would concentrate all the activities relating to agriculture, and also those relating to health. He would decentralize certain inspection and law-enforcement functions, and assign them to county and local officials.

Like other Governors this year, he discusses the escape from taxation of intangible property, and the heavy burdens that are falling upon real estate. He advocates an income tax graduated from one per cent. up to six per cent. He also proposes a graduated tax on estates in place of the present inheritance tax law, with exemptions below \$50,000 and an increase of one per cent. for each \$25,000 in excess of the exempted sum. He recommends a reversal of policy regarding the construction of expensive hard-surfaced roads, and favors ordinary, local roads. He advocates retention of the



JONATHAN M. DAVIS
(Kansas)

primary system. He dislikes the Public Utilities Commission as a method of regulating utilities, and would refer most of its present functions to local and municipal authorities.

He recommends the repeal of the law that created the Court of Industrial Relations, and would substitute a law creating the office of Industrial Commissioner, whose duties would be those of conciliation.

Governor Davis is strong in his demand for law enforcement. He reminds us of the long prohibition record of Kansas. He will use his best effort to stop bootlegging, and is equally aggressive against the "habitual tax dodger."

Kansas, like other Western States, has seen the failure of a certain number of banks due to extreme agricultural depression. The Governor makes a series of recommendations relating to the public control of the banking business. Kansas, it should be remembered, has for some years past guaranteed deposits, and this system is commended by Mr. Davis. The so-called "blue sky" legislation has not been working well, and he recommends further enactments to protect the public against concerns selling shares of stock by advertising.

The Ohio system of workmen's compensation is recommended as better than the one now existing in Kansas. In Ohio a guaranty

fund is provided by assessment on employers.

Governor Davis recommends that counties and townships be empowered to build and operate public elevators and storehouses for the keeping of corn and wheat. This, of course, involves the issuance of bonds for such purposes. He has ideas of his own upon farm credits. He would require the State banks of Kansas to turn over one-fourth of their resources to the State treasury, to be loaned to Kansas farmers on grain certificates or cattle paper. If such a plan should be regarded as unconstitutional, he would organize State reserve banks.

He advises legislation to give effect to the "Recall" provision of the Constitution. He asks for an amendment providing for the "Initiative and Referendum." He proposes legislation to provide an Executive Budget System on the best plans. There are numerous other recommendations, all of which are interesting, and some of which would seem to be clearly meritorious.

The message as a whole is a public document of remarkable timeliness, and, far from being violently radical, it is in essence the creed of a thoughtful and experienced man, a typical Western American, who is trying to maintain what he regards as fundamental American institutions.

TWENTY-SEVEN YEARS A PREMIER

BY OWEN E. McGILLICUDDY

THE resignation of Hon. George H. Murray as Premier of the Province of Nova Scotia, on January 23, ends an exceptional political career. As Premier of his native province for nearly twenty-seven years, Mr. Murray established a new record in the history of British constitutional government.

To hold the highest office in the gift of his province for over a quarter of a century is a considerable achievement; but to win the confidence of his fellow-citizens after three successive defeats as a candidate for the Canadian House adds further interest to the career of this popular Scotch-Canadian who has now retired.

According to political friends and foes, the secret of his success as a public official is found in his rugged honesty—in his trustworthiness. Commenting on his retirement the Toronto *Globe* expressed the following opinion: "Premier Murray's twenty-seven years' service, from which he retires voluntarily, is creditable to himself and to Nova Scotia. The Premier must have deserved the confidence of the Province, and the Province deserved such a Premier by its continued loyalty to him."

Mr. Murray's decision to relinquish the leadership of the Liberal government of Nova Scotia is due to ill health. He is succeeded as Premier of the province by

Hon. Ernest H. Armstrong, Minister of Public Works in the Murray cabinet.

Mr. Murray's first experience in politics was when he contested Cape Breton County, N. S., as candidate of the Liberal party in the Dominion general election of 1887. He was defeated, but, according to his friends, "his smile was just as easy after the election as before it." Notwithstanding the fact that Cape Breton in those days seemed hopeless from a Liberal point of view, Mr. Murray was again a candidate for the House of Commons in 1891. Again he met defeat at the hands of the voters.

A third nomination for Cape Breton was offered Mr. Murray. This time it was the bye-election of February, 1896, when he had to contest the seat with Sir Charles Tupper, then Conservative Prime Minister of Canada. Sir Charles, a veteran in Canadian politics, and one of the fathers of Canadian Confederation, won the election; and Mr. Murray, for the third time in succession, went down to defeat.

Few public men in any English-speaking country have started their career under such a handicap, and certainly none has achieved the remarkable distinction which is now Mr. Murray's. He was called to the Premiership of Nova Scotia when Hon. W. S. Fielding resigned that office to become Minister of Finance in Sir Wilfrid Laurier's first cabinet after the famous general election of 1896.

On July 20, 1921, his remarkable career received a unique celebration when Mr. Murray was presented with a formal resolution in the historic legislative chamber in the provincial building at Halifax, in which he was congratulated upon his phenomenal record by members of the legislature of all parties. At the same session, the legislature voted an annuity of \$5,000 a year "if and when he retires."

For a number of years Mr. Murray has been handicapped by a lame leg. A year ago his only good leg gave him additional trouble and he was compelled to go to a sanitarium at Battle Creek, Michigan. He was absent most of the session and it

was while he was at the sanitarium that the legislature passed its resolution of congratulation and also voted the annuity.

Liberals, Conservatives, U.F.O.'s and Labor men, in Nova Scotia concede that Mr. Murray has given the province a stabilized and beneficent administration during his tenure of office, and his governments have returned to power in six different provincial elections—in 1897, 1901, 1906, 1911, 1916, and 1920.

When the resolution of congratulation was before the provincial House in the spring of 1921, Hon. R. M. MacGregor, of Pictou, one of Premier Murray's colleagues, emphasized the fighting courage which evidenced the political career of Premier Murray: "An unusual thing in Mr. Murray's career is that men are often made by some remarkable political victory, whereas I think I may safely say that Mr. Murray's political prominence came as a result of a political defeat. Most of us can remember the fierce political campaign of 1895-6; most of us can remember the political battle between the old veteran Sir Charles Tupper, and the young George Murray; and while Mr. Murray did not succeed in winning that contest, I think the splendid fight he made brought him into such prominence with his party that it had a great deal to do with his succession to the premiership only a few months later."

Hon. W. S. Fielding, Canadian Minister of Finance, and the predecessor of Mr. Murray as Premier of Nova Scotia, has often referred to the day he advised the Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia to call upon Mr. Murray to form a government, as "his best day's work." At a public meeting held in Halifax in July, 1921, Mr. Fielding, who was the chief speaker, expressed the following opinion: "It is not such a bad thing to be a politician after all, for politics is the business of the people, and the man who enters public life with the honest desire to serve the people is doing good work. Our friend, Premier Murray, is such a man."



HON. GEORGE H. MURRAY
(Premier of Nova Scotia, 1896-1923)

THE GROWTH OF TAXES

BY DAVID FRIDAY

(President of the Michigan Agricultural College)

THE growth of taxes is one source of the discontent which has prevailed during the recent period of business depression. This is a less potent cause of economic hardship than many other things which have happened during the last five years, but most of these forces are unseen things, not easily discoverable or traceable. They are subtle, and the chain of causation begins many links from the person who finally suffers.

But taxes are a direct cause which every citizen can understand. He receives a peremptory notice from his city, or State, or from the authorities of the federal government, that they are due. He pays them directly in money. The burden of taxation comes home to him, then, as a direct demand and its operation is evidenced by the deflation of his bank account or the flattening of his pocketbook.

Other economic causes may increase the prices of the things he buys, or reduce the prices of those he sells. They may make his labor worthless because of unemployment. But there is no personal or political entity here against which he can direct his ire. "General business conditions" are to blame; and you can't cast a vote against general business conditions, or write a vituperative political article charging them with gross extravagance and malfeasance in office.

Why the Farmer Complains

Just now the complaint about taxation is most vigorous among the farmers. The business revival of the last nine months has been less marked in agriculture than in other lines of industry, so that the farmer still feels the burden of depression when other men have become optimistic once more. The abolition of certain taxes, like the excess-profits tax, and the reduction of others, like the high surtax on personal incomes, have not afforded the farmer much relief; for he never paid these in any great

measure. The excess-profits tax was paid almost entirely by the manufacturing and mining industries. This amounted to eight billion dollars during the last five years. The tax on corporate incomes amounted to another three billion dollars. The personal income tax, including normal and surtaxes, yielded almost five billion dollars during the last half-decade. It is a rich man's tax, and is paid for the most part by the city dwellers.

Corporate and Excess-Profits Taxes Chiefly Paid in Cities

The extent to which the sixteen billion dollars of taxes gathered from these sources has been paid by the urban communities is shown in a striking manner when we divide the States into groups. Our twelve large industrial States, including Ohio, California, and Michigan, had a population of almost fifty million in 1920. In these commonwealths the ratio of people in cities and towns to those living on the farm was seven to one. These States paid three-fourths of all the income and excess-profits taxes in the last five years.

The remaining thirty-six States, with over fifty-six millions of population, paid less than one-fourth of these taxes. In these States the ratio of urban population to people living on farms is but slightly over two to one. So the abolition of the excess-profits tax and the reduction of surtaxes on large incomes have not operated to reduce the farmers' burden of taxation materially.

As a result of this situation taxes are the burden of talk everywhere in rural communities and much of the politics of various States hangs on them. One hears extravagant stories about the increase of taxation and about the staggering size of the burden at this time. Writers of standing assert that taxes have multiplied by ten in less than a decade, and that they now constitute four per cent. of the value of the property even

in a staid and well-to-do commonwealth like Ohio.

To come to any intelligent conclusion on this matter we need an accurate statement of fact concerning the amount of money which is being taken from the citizens by the tax-gatherers, national, State, and local, throughout the country; and of the relative growth of each of these forms of taxation. The ordinary citizen pays taxes to the federal government, to his State, and to his local governing bodies, like cities, counties, and school districts.

The Federal Government's Share

Concerning the growth of some of these taxes we have definite information. Thus, the total taxes levied by the federal government and collected by the Bureau of Internal Revenue grew from an average of \$356,851,313 in the five-year period 1911-1915 to \$4,149,898,859 in the five-year period 1918-1922. They were, therefore, more than eleven times as large in the latter period as before the war. These consist partly of miscellaneous taxes on manufactures, purchases, transportation, and amusements. Taxes of this sort collected by the federal government have grown, during the same period, from an average of \$306,132,506 to \$1,204,565,282. This is a fourfold increase. The remaining taxes collected by this Bureau are levied on incomes and profits. These grew from \$49,263,956 in the earlier period to an average of \$2,942,355,188. This was a sixtyfold increase.

In addition to these taxes collected by the Department of Internal Revenue, the federal government imposes a tariff on imports. Receipts from customs were somewhat over \$300,000,000 per year in the pre-war period. They fell to less than \$200,000,000 during the war, and rose to \$350,000,000 in the post-war period. Under the new tariff law they are running at the rate of more than \$400,000,000 per year.

It is generally recognized by economists that the miscellaneous taxes on manufacture and consumption and the customs duties disperse themselves throughout the population as an addition to the price which the ultimate consumer pays for the thing taxed. Taxes on incomes and profits, on the other hand, tend to remain where they are put and are not passed on. This holds to a large extent for taxes on real estate, which are the chief source of support for State and local governments, and which

constitute the largest part of the farmer's tax burden. The federal government levies no taxes on property.

The total amount which the federal government collected from the people during the period immediately preceding the outbreak of the European war was about \$670,000,000 per year. Eighty-five per cent. of these taxes were of the sort which were shifted to the people in increased prices. From 1918 to 1922 the federal government collected, on the average, four and one-half billion dollars annually. Only one-third of these taxes were of the sort which were shifted to the consumer; the other two-thirds, amounting to almost three billion dollars, remained largely where they were put by the government. The vociferousness with which these taxes were assailed shows that the people who paid them in the first instance had no considerable confidence in their ability to shift them on. For the two years, 1923 and 1924, the taxes which the federal government expects to collect as internal revenue and customs duties amount to \$2,850,000,000 annually. Taxes for the support of the federal government rose, then, from two-thirds of a billion in the pre-war period to four and one-half billions in the last five years. In the next few years they will be almost three billion.

State and Local Demands

It is more difficult to arrive at the growth of State and local taxes. These must be computed from the data compiled by State and local authorities. The total of all State and local taxes, including city and school, for the year 1921, was approximately four billion dollars. The probability is in favor of a slightly higher figure. In 1913-14 they were a little more than one-third of this amount. The whole situation can be succinctly set forth in tabular form. The following compilation shows all taxes collected for State, local, and federal purposes in the year 1913-14 and in 1921-22:

	1913-14	1921-22
Direct Taxes		
State.....	\$ 210,000,000	\$ 600,000,000
Local.....	1,290,000,000	3,400,000,000
Federal Income and Excess Profits . . .	71,221,353	2,086,018,465
Indirect Taxes		
Miscellaneous		
Federal Taxes . . .	307,705,600	1,109,102,271
U. S. Customs Duties	311,321,672	356,443,387
Total . . .	\$2,190,248,625	\$7,552,464,123

How Much Does the Farmer Pay?

It is a much more complex problem to estimate the portion of these taxes which the farmers pay. The Department of Agriculture has just made an extended investigation into the relative taxes paid by 25,000 farmers scattered throughout the forty-eight States of the union. They were asked to state the amount of taxes on real and personal property paid in the year 1913-14, and also in 1921-22. On the basis of these returns it is estimated that the total taxes paid by all farmers in the United States increased from \$370,000,000 in the former year to \$812,640,000 in the latter. The average tax levied on real estate per acre of land in 1913-14 was 38.7 cents; in 1921-22 it was 85.2 cents. The East North Central Group, consisting of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin, had taxes of \$1.72 per acre in 1921-22, which was the highest of any group. The rate of growth was smallest in the Eastern States, where taxes had increased 92 per cent., and largest in the West North Central, where they had increased 135 per cent.

These are the taxes which farmers pay to State and local governments only. In addition they pay some income and excess-profits taxes to the federal government. But this latter amount has never been large. The reasons for this are that the farmers as a class derive their income from business, and receive on the average not much more than the earnings of adult wage-earners. A part of their incomes, such as the rental value of their homes and the food and fuel which they produce, is not subject to tax. They seldom keep accurate accounts, and so find it difficult to report their incomes exactly; and find it easy to evade the tax if they desire to do so. It is certain that the total income and profits taxes paid by farmers in the year 1921-22 were less than one hundred million dollars. The total direct tax payments by farmers to State, local, and federal governments, then, has risen from somewhat under four hundred million dollars in the years immediately preceding the war to about nine hundred million dollars last year.

It is not possible to determine the exact amount of customs duties and of miscellaneous taxes on manufactures, amusements, and luxuries, which are finally paid by the farmers. No great error will result if we apportion these on the basis of popula-

tion. Since the people on farms constitute approximately 30 per cent. of our population, it is fair to assume that this portion of the taxes would approximate roughly the maximum which the farmers would ultimately pay on account of these taxes. Proceeding on this assumption, the total payments are divided between farmers and others as shown in the following table:

	1913-14	1921-22
Direct Taxes	\$380,000,000	\$900,000,000
Indirect Taxes	185,708,182	439,663,697
<i>Total</i>	<i>\$565,708,182</i>	<i>\$1,339,663,697</i>

	Paid by farmers	Paid by others
Direct Taxes	\$1,191,222,353	\$5,186,918,465
Indirect Taxes	433,318,090	1,025,881,961
<i>Total</i>	<i>\$1,624,540,443</i>	<i>\$6,212,800,426</i>

According to these computations, the farmers were paying 26 per cent. of all taxes in the year 1913-14, and 18 per cent. in 1921-22. Putting it somewhat differently, the farmer shouldered \$774,000,000 out of a total increase in the tax burden of \$5,362,000,000. He had been paying one-fourth of all taxes before the war; but he assumed only one-seventh of the additional burden which has been laid upon the public. If you consider only direct taxes, the increase was \$4,515,000,000, of which the farmer paid \$520,000,000, or slightly over one-ninth.

The Burden on Real Estate

Next after the farmer, the bitterest complaint comes from the small holder of real estate and from professional real-estate dealers and speculators. They say that the burden upon real estate has become intolerable, and must not be increased. It is not difficult to arrive at the rate of increase in real-estate taxes. The State and local taxes set forth in the table above are almost entirely property taxes. They are also the only taxes which property pays. On the average, one-fourth to one-fifth of this is paid by personal property; the remainder is paid by real estate. When deductions are made for personal property and for the taxes which the farmer pays, we find that the property owners in cities and towns paid \$850,000,000 in 1913-14. By 1920-21 this had risen to approximately \$2,400,000,000.

It should be borne in mind that the population of the farms declined somewhat during this period, while that of the cities and towns increased almost 10,000,000.

The smaller property owners paid practically no income or excess-profits taxes. These latter had risen from \$71,000,000 to \$2,087,000,000. In the year 1919-20 they amounted to the astounding sum of \$3,957,000,000. It does not appear, therefore, that the owners of real estate have been burdened by property taxes beyond other people. In fact, the increase in their contribution has been very much less than that of the business and professional men who have paid on the basis of their income and profits.

Distribution of Taxes Among Groups

By way of summary the tax-payers of the country may be grouped under four heads. First are the farmers, whose taxes have multiplied by a little less than two and one-half. Second come the small property owners, whose personal income is not large enough to subject them to anything more than the normal income tax. The taxes of this group have advanced slightly more than have those of the farmer. Third are those persons who receive incomes which subject them to surtaxes. Practically all persons who have incomes of \$5000 and upward belong in this class. Fourth are the corporate enterprises. These pay corporation income taxes and the great mass of the excess-profits taxes.

The third and fourth groups may be, for the most part, the same persons. Almost 90 per cent. of all the personal income taxes are paid by persons who have incomes of more than \$5000, although they constitute less than one-tenth of the people who make income-tax returns. These people pay approximately 90 per cent. of the federal income taxes. They likewise receive 90 per cent. of all the dividends reported for income-tax purposes, and about 80 per cent. of all the dividends which corporations pay to individuals. Since these are the principal stockholders in the corporations, the income and excess-profits taxes paid by business enterprises ultimately fall primarily upon this group. These are the persons whose taxes have increased far the most rapidly. It is difficult to fix the increase in their burden exactly, but it has multiplied by not less than ten.

Why have the taxes paid by these various groups increased at such different rates? State and local taxes have increased because the prices which governments must pay for labor and material have risen; and

because the people have desired that their governments should undertake new functions and should perform old ones more adequately. The farmer's taxes have increased largely because he has desired better roads and better schools. In the cities the desire for better schools, better pavements, police and fire protection, parks, has grown rapidly during the last decade.

The farmer's burden has been less because we have had no growth in our rural population since the outbreak of the European war, and because he has no local government which does for him what the city does for its inhabitants. The fifteen million people who have been added to our population during the past decade all live in cities. With the ever-expanding functions of city government it has been an expensive matter to provide them with the facilities which every self-respecting American city furnishes its inhabitants.

State Demands Smallest of All

Perhaps the most striking single fact about these State and local taxes is the very trifling proportion that goes to the support of our State governments. More and more are we citizens of the city in which we live, or of the nation. The functions of the State government and its demands upon the tax-payer have become small indeed. The people have voted upon themselves in their own city, or in their local school district, the great mass of property taxes which they pay. The farmer's taxes are lighter than those of the city dweller just because his local government has assumed so few functions as compared with that of the village and the city. These State and local taxes cannot become lighter until the people desire their schools, their city governments, and their highway commissioners to do fewer things for them, or to do them less adequately; or until the level of prices and wages falls.

Aftermath of War

The taxes paid to the federal government have risen primarily because we saw fit to enter the European conflict. When the people of a nation decide to go to war they inevitably place a heavy burden of taxation, not only upon themselves, but upon their children and their children's children after them. It is not necessary to labor the point that war is responsible for our increased federal taxes. President Harding has put

it into seven lines for us in his message to Congress on December fourth:

It is well to mention that of the total expenditures of \$3,703,801,671 for the fiscal year 1923, approximately \$2,000,000,000 will be expended in the payment of pensions, payments to or on behalf of World War veterans, interest on the public debt, and for the reduction of the public debt required by law to be made from ordinary receipts.

This burden of taxes imposed by the war has thus far been put mostly upon the well-to-do. The only persons of this class who have escaped are those who have been content to invest their means in tax-exempt securities.

Mr. Bryan's Nebraska Farm

Without doubt there are isolated cases which constitute exceptions to the general analysis here presented. A recent magazine article cited the experience of William Jennings Bryan and his brother, Charles W. These gentlemen own several farms not far from Lincoln, Nebraska. One of them is a quarter-section (160 acres). The official figures of the taxation on this quarter-section, as quoted by Mr. Bryan in his own words, are these:

1915.....	\$ 93.12
1916.....	136.82
1917.....	128.63
1918.....	127.52
1919.....	223.11
1920.....	325.63
1921.....	494.33

It is interesting to note that taxes are presented for only one of the several farms. The taxes amount to more than three dollars per acre on this farm. But several hundred farmers in Nebraska who reported to the Department of Agriculture their actual payments for 1921-22 show taxes of \$.83 per acre last year as against \$.35 per acre in 1913-14. No such increase in

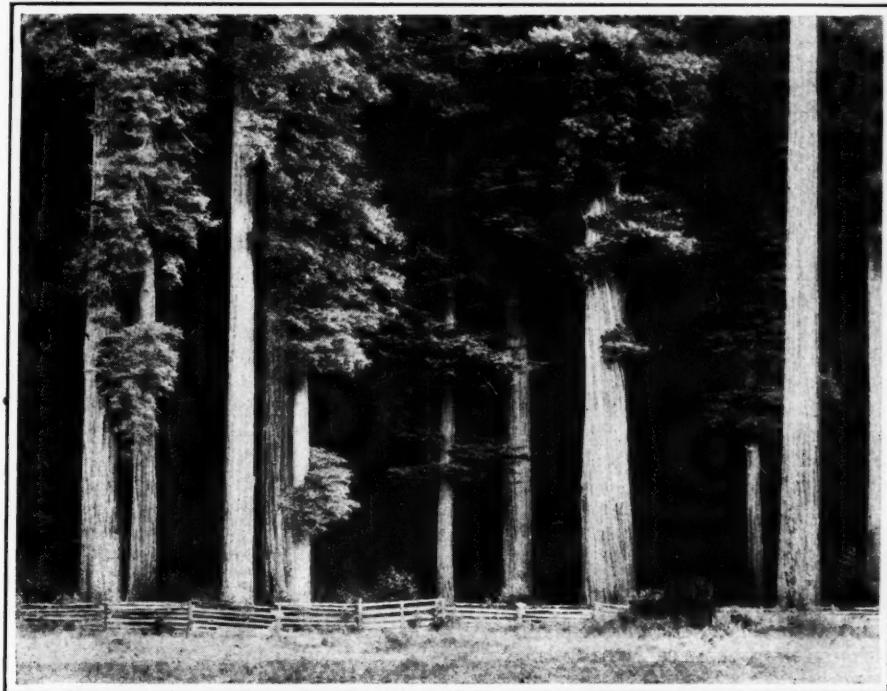
taxation has occurred in Nebraska as these figures of Mr. Bryan would lead one to believe. There are no figures at hand for the year 1915, but in 1913 the total property tax levies in Nebraska for State and local purposes amounted to \$22,477,791. In 1915 they were undoubtedly higher than this. The taxes for 1921 in the State amounted to \$68,026,738. In the latter year the taxes were approximately three times as high as in 1913, and probably less than three times those of 1915.

If the farm is situated in a school district which maintains a first-class high school, or in one which is building a new school house largely out of taxes, naturally the increase is greater than the average. If it happens to be so situated that an improved highway is being built along the farm, part of its cost will normally be assessed against the property, and will bring the taxes above the ordinary increase. If the farm is situated near a large and growing city, it will naturally partake of the increase in land values which urban growth brings to the surrounding land. But in the absence of such special circumstances, taxes in Nebraska have not multiplied by five, but by three.

Greater Public, as Well as Private, Wants

The forces which have brought the increase in governmental expenditure other than for war purposes are after all not much different from those which have produced the increase in our family budgets. We want more things, and we want better things; and we have the money with which to pay for them. Our productive capacity has increased, and the price level is higher. Consequently the money which we must contribute to the State in order to satisfy our expanding wants in the manner that we deem fit and proper has increased, in public life as in private affairs.





A REDWOOD FOREST IN CALIFORNIA, WHERE NO RAY OF SUNLIGHT REACHES AND SILENCE REIGNS SUPREME

THE UNDYING REDWOOD TREE OF OUR WESTERN COAST

BY THEODORE M. KNAPPEN

REDWOOD wins. The big tree of the California coast, *sequoia sempervirens*—sharing with its mighty mountain brother, *sequoia Washingtoniana*, the royal honors of the American forests—has at last triumphed over fires, outpost farmers, lumbermen, and cattlemen.

It has defied fires that would have twisted steel buildings into warped tangles, it has repelled the farmer and has driven out the cattle that were relied upon to turn the ancient forest land into pasture after the lumbermen had removed the crop of thousand years' maturity. Lumbermen, cattlemen, and farmers—all have surrendered to the tree that has maintained a continuous succession of the species since before the age of ice; and now the lumbermen have decided that the big tree fought a righteous battle and a practical one. They have con-

cluded that it is a tree par excellence for forestry management and permanent lumbering. And it is to be accorded the distinction of being the forest leader in America in the new era of continuous lumbering.

Lovers of nature and advocates of preservation of some of the original forests as parks and as samples of what wild America was, had something to do with the winning fight of redwood, for they have succeeded in assuring its preservation as a part of the landscape along the state highway in Mendocino and Humboldt counties, California; but mostly the ancient tree fought and won its own battle. It would not be subdued; it could not be conquered.

The tremendous grasp on vitality which keeps it sound at 1000 to 2000 years, and has made it one of the oldest living things on earth, has proved too much for man with

his feeble hold on life and his end at three-score-years-and-ten. Cut off at the base, its children sprout at the stump; dig out the stump and they spring up from the radiating roots. Chop down and burn off the sprouts and they come back, again and again; seven times of record has one piece of cut-over and burned-over redwood land been known to come back. Turn on the cattle to fatten on the grass that comes up when the redwood comes down, and in five or six years the redwood sprouts, rising in loyal circles around the tough stumps of their fathers, kill out the grass and drive off the cattle.

Only the farmer who is intent on ousting *sempervirens* to make way for the cultivated fields and is prepared to chop, hack, grub, pull, blast and burn, and keep on plowing for many years and at great expense, can hope to defeat this most persistent of the great trees. Many a poor-soil farm has been surrendered back to the redwood host. Fortunately for old Redwood, very little of his domain is suitable to agriculture, so the farmer is not among his really dangerous enemies.

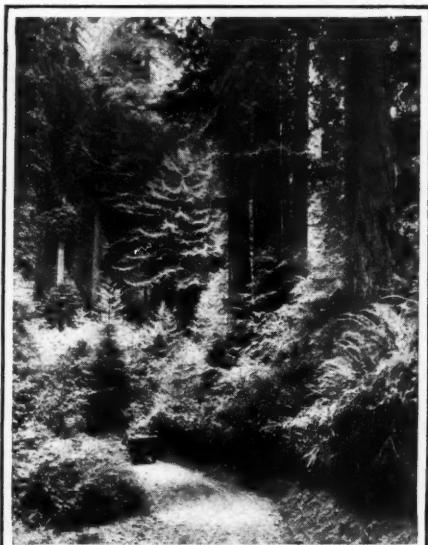
Even fire does not bother him very much as a serious enemy of his life, though it can hasten his end when his years are many, kill his children back when they are young, retard their growth when they are older, keep the forest thin and scraggy, and impair

the value of the second growth timber. Fend off the fires and King Redwood will take care of himself as he has through all the epochal vicissitudes since the age before the last glacial period.

As forest areas go, the redwood region is limited. Just a little strip along the favoring foggy coast of California from the Bay of San Francisco to the Oregon line, only a few miles wide—between the ocean and the mountain tops—and comprising only 1,360,000 acres. On 900,000 of these acres the forests as a whole are as they were when the pyramids were built and before; and they number individual trees that were aged when Attila was scourging Europe, and were as old as the Christian era when Columbus landed on San Salvador. They contain a reserve of perhaps 60,000,000,000 feet of timber as against a present cutting rate of less than 600,000,000 feet a year, which at once reminds us that redwood has a margin of a century for reforestation to get full swing, and how little the lumbermen were moved by present-day exigencies in deciding to take up continuous lumbering methods. Brother *Washingtoniana*, in the highlands of the Sierra Nevadas, covers still less territory.

Survivors of preglacial forests, as anachronistic in flora as a living ichthyosaurus would be in fauna, finding only a limited modern habitat, the redwoods seem to be marked for destruction in this crowded age, when a number of species of plants and animals have been annihilated. And they would be but for their tenacious virility, their uniqueness among the conifers in sprouting from stump and root, and the happy circumstance that they grow mostly on land that is not suitable for agriculture. Another quality that marks them for survival in the cruel struggle of the fittest is that though the sequoias reach the nearest approximation to immortality in all the teeming life of the world they also grow rapidly, possibly more rapidly in their infant years—of the first fifty or hundred—than any other coniferous tree. In a year they mount to a man's height; in fifteen years they may top a seven-story building; at forty to fifty years the trees, standing in circles around the bones of a common ancestor, may be as tall as a fifteen-story office building, three feet thick, and productive of as much as 50,000 to 125,000 feet of lumber to the acre.

The density of the heavy redwood forests



UNDERBRUSH IN A REDWOOD FOREST
(Compare its height with the automobile in the roadway)



THE END OF A THOUSAND YEARS!

(Besides the large notch which has been cut, the lumbermen have sawed through the trunk from the right, and the tree is about ready to crash to the ground)

is scarcely credible by those who have not been in them. Not only are the trees of great size and "high and lifted up" beyond the cedars of Lebanon, but they stand so thickly that twilight always reigns beneath them. Counts show an average of 52 to the acre over extensive areas, to say nothing of many large trees of other species standing among them. An acre will even hold 200 of the smaller second-growth trees. A stand of 5000 board feet to the acre is considered very satisfactory for the smaller conifers, and 10,000 is exceptional; but the redwood forests will average around 50,000 feet to the acre on hundreds of thousands of acres. A tract in Humboldt county scaled an average of 84,000 feet for 96,443 acres.

Although in girth the largest redwoods do not quite come up to their brother sequoias of the Sierras, they are the tallest trees native to America, the maximum height being 350 feet, and the greatest diameter 25 feet. Consequently the amount of lumber in one tree is astounding. An ordinary tree of a diameter of five feet will yield lumber enough for a cottage; and there are many trees from each of which a dozen cottages could be built. There is an authentic record of a single acre producing 1,431,530

feet of lumber, which is enough to cover an acre of land with a solid wooden block ten stories high. One 16-foot tree yielded 100,000 feet of lumber, and one of a thickness of 22 feet produced nearly 200,000 feet. Only such lumber content could make a trifling 2000 square miles one of the notable timber regions of a country that still has hundreds of thousands of square miles of forest.

Owing to its lack of resin, the large amount of moisture in its cells, and the thickness of the bark, a large redwood is fire-proof. No forest fire is capable of destroying or even seriously injuring a mature redwood forest, even though it may destroy other species in the forest and singe and scar the big fellows. So resistant is this tree to fire that it is or has been the common lumbering practice to burn over a timbered area after the trees have been felled so as to get rid of the tops, bark, undergrowth and débris generally, in order that the task of getting the huge logs out may be facilitated. These clearing fires are made just as hot and destructive as possible, but they in no way affect the quantity or quality of the lumber obtained from the huge logs that come through them. No such fire is

capable of destroying the vitality of the stumps and roots. A few months after lumbering, the green sprouts of future forest giants everywhere spring up; and they unite with bushes, and saplings of other timber species, to spread quickly a verdant cover of new life over the gray and black "abomination of desolation" that necessarily marks the logging of these densely standing sylvan giants.

The fires, however, do destroy the seeds, which are notoriously infertile at best; and the present method of clean cutting leaves few or no seed trees behind. It seems to be considered best, though, to continue the practice of wholesale cutting and burning; so that in reforesting there is a problem of filling up the spaces not occupied by the sprouts from stumps and root suckers, in order to get a full and fairly uniform stand of trees. This problem is being solved by the artificial planting of seedlings raised from the small proportion of fertile seeds in nurseries. Even without artificial planting a satisfactory volume of second-growth timber is obtainable simply by keeping out fires, although that is no easy matter. While the mature timber is impregnable to fire—though most of the trees have doubtless been somewhat injured through the centuries by the fires that have swept them

again and again—the young growth is more susceptible to injury. It springs up following fire after fire, but the brush growth that comes with it is so dense that the fires undoubtedly exterminate many sprouts and impair the vigor of others; so that the second-growth is not so thick nor of so good quality as it would be with fire-protection. The problem of keeping fires from running through the brush growth in the dry season is a knotty and expensive one; but it is not permanent, as the crowns of the rapidly growing redwoods soon so shade this ground that the brush is killed off.

Some of the lumber companies, formerly skeptical of the possibilities of reforestation and desirous of making some use of the cut-over land, made a practice of sowing grass seed in the ashes of the slash burnings. It came up all right, and the cattle flourished on it; but they didn't relish redwood sprouts and they didn't keep out the brush. So in four or five years the range was gone and the mountains were covered again with brush, redwood sprouts, and other young trees.

Unconsciously, perhaps, the woodsmen of the redwood country long ago realized that for perpetuating itself from stump and roots *sempervirens* was an exceptional pinaceous tree, and that it grew very rapidly when young; but as scarcely any of the lumbered trees were less than 400 years old, and many of them were more than a thousand, it was widely assumed that the redwood was a tree of centuries and not to be thought of for reforesting in a hurrying age. In fact, a legend got abroad that all second-growth redwoods grow rapidly for a few years and then stop growing or grow so slowly as to take centuries to attain commercial size.

Great significance was also attached to the fact that no very young trees were to be seen in the virgin forest. "Nowhere is there any young growth," wrote Henry Gannett of the United States Geological Survey, in the *National Geographic Magazine* in 1899, who was then of the opinion that the climate was no longer adapted to the giant trees. He added, "With the clearing away of the present forests, the end of the species as a source of lumber will be at hand." Writing in the same magazine in the same year, J. B. Leiberg also doomed the redwood, saying: "Thus, hemmed in by unusual climatic conditions and unable to maintain its stands, its extinction seems assured at no very remote period." Now



ONLY FOUR YEARS AFTER LOGGING

(Note the redwood springing up around each stump, and compare their height with the shacks in the foreground)

it turns out that there is no other tree of lumbering importance that is so hard to exterminate, that reproduces itself so vigorously and is so tenacious of existence. It may be held back by the shade of larger trees for a century; and then, when it gets a chance at the sunlight, it may resume its growth with the rapidity of a young sapling.

But when the Forest Service proved that scientists and lumbermen alike were in error, it was long the accepted view that as a source of lumber the redwood would soon pass. Forty or fifty years is an average lifetime, and "after me the deluge" was the old motto. Who cared for the next generation? It could look out for itself. But the redwood insisted on being a problem. The years slipped by, and some lumbermen found that they had new redwood forests without turning a hand to save them. They were paying taxes on other tracts that were fighting for life against fire and neglect. Maybe it would be just as well to consider whether there might be money in a crop gathered only once in fifty years, especially as that crop had started or volunteered itself all over the place and was well on the way to readiness for cutting.

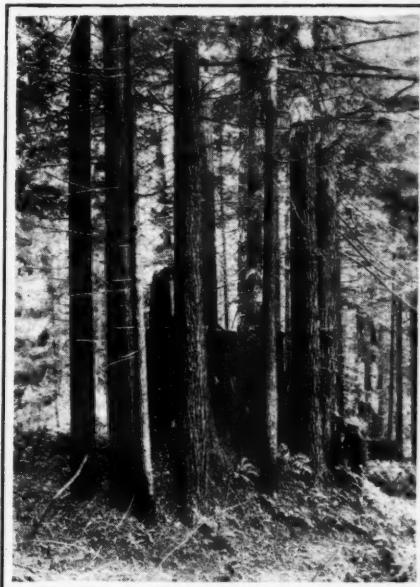
So six of the larger redwood lumber companies last year engaged Major David T. Mason, a forestry engineer of Portland, Oregon, to make a survey of the redwood country and advise them whether it would be good business to help the redwood "circles" in their stubborn fight for life. Or, as Major Mason puts it: "to have at hand the data on the basis of which to determine whether or not they were justified in adopting a policy of permanent forest management." Major Mason devoted about a year to a comprehensive study of all the available data and to personal examination of the redwood forests and lumbering methods. His conclusion was, generally speaking, that owners of old growth and cut-over land are justified in undertaking forest management work because—

The growing of a second crop of timber will in all probability bring a reasonable return on the investment.

Existing investments in plant, good will, organization, etc., will be protected.

Parts of redwood stumps, snags, chunks, heretofore left on cut-over land will be recovered as a valuable by-product.

Relations with the public with re-



REDWOOD SPROUTS RISING IN LOYAL CIRCLES AROUND THE STUMP OF THEIR FATHER

(Showing forty years' growth)

gard to good will, industrial regulation, taxes, etc., will be improved.

Common carrier railways and harbors can be developed and operated in a way to render better service to the lumber industry, because based on a permanent rather than a temporary industry.

In a recent letter to the information department of the National Lumber Manufacturers, Association, reviewing what has been accomplished, Major Mason says that more than a year ago the Union Lumber Company "definitely decided to manage its property for the perpetual production of timber. About the same time five other companies, listed in the report that you have, decided to study carefully the possibilities of such a policy. Recently the Mendocino Lumber Company and the Pacific Lumber Company have adopted policies similar to that of the Union Lumber Company." These companies produce 37 per cent. of the annual redwood cut of about 600,000,000 feet. A large number of other companies (including the Glen Blair Redwood Company, the Hammond Lumber Company, and the Little River Redwood Company), representing approximately 49 per cent. of the redwood produc-

tion, "are seriously studying the matter of reforestation with the intention of going ahead in such ways as appear feasible. Thus there is left only about 14 per cent. of the production of the region which has not yet in one way or another signified its definite interest in the matter."

So the redwoods are certain to be saved commercially, and are to have the distinction of leading the way in the first important perpetual lumbering project on the Pacific Coast and the most extensive so far undertaken in the United States. Oldest of the trees, they are the first in the new era. While commercial operations will perpetuate the colossus of the forests as a whole, though sacrificing the virgin timber, great progress has been made in preserving spacious areas of the stately primeval forest. Many individuals and lumber companies have presented to the State of California groves along the State highway through the

redwood region; the State has appropriated \$300,000 for the purchase of such tracts, and an effort is being made to have the federal government purchase at least several thousand acres for a national park.

Redwood land is not to repeat the story of decaying settlements and abandonment to barren, fire-swept wilderness that is the present state of 81,000,000 acres of land in the United States, once forest-covered. The prosperous towns and villages of the present will continue to thrive with all the assurance of permanence that is vouchsafed to any community that is founded on the continuous production of the soil. Groves of the great trees will delight the eye and stir the wonder and awe of the tourist and nature lover, while the forests as a whole will perpetually yield lumber and other wood products for the uses of a civilization that could scarcely endure without them.

MAJESTIC OAKS AND ELMS OF THE EAST

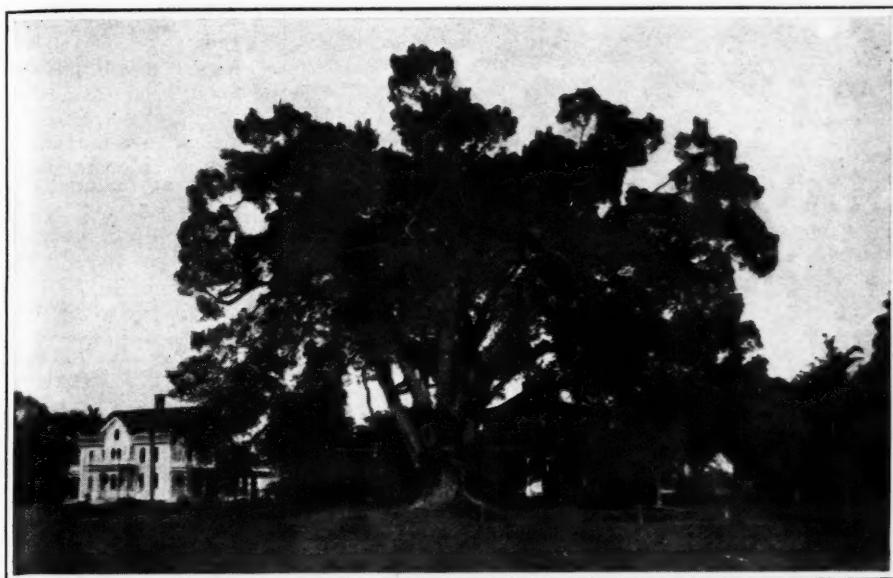
BY J. BERNARD WALKER

THE giant trees of the Pacific coast that are found among the mountain ranges of California, Oregon, and Washington are famous the world over; but not many people, outside of the immediate locality in which they exist, are aware that in the eastern United States there are to be found, here and there, trees which within the limitations imposed by the species to which they belong, are quite as notable for size and perhaps even more notable for beauty than the towering fir, redwood, and spruce trees of the west.

Conditions of soil and climate are responsible for the stupendous growth of the giants of the Pacific coast, together with the fact that these trees belong to a species which runs naturally to great height and girth. In the eastern States the climate and soil do not favor the growth of the resinous trees to more than normal size; it is among the hardwoods that we must look for notable specimens which will compare, in their own species, with the mammoth trees of the west and northwest.

Among these the finest are to be found among the elm trees of New England and the oak trees of the middle and southerly seaboard states.

That the larger oaks and elms of the eastern States are not more widely celebrated for their abnormal size, and therefore are lacking in the fame and glamor which attaches to western trees, is due largely to the fact that, unlike the firs and redwoods, the trees of the east that are of exceptional size stand, as a rule, in solitary grandeur, and not in famous groves or groups. Among the hardwood trees of the east there is nothing answering, for instance, to the groves of the Yosemite valley or the forests of towering firs and spruce in the northwest. What few giant hardwoods have remained, from the once all but universal forests of eastern America, stand alone. Hence, except among tree lovers, these notable specimens have but a limited reputation; and they are known to the accidental traveler only when they burst upon his view in some ancient village, or are seen



THE "OLD ELM" AT WETHERSFIELD, CONN., BELIEVED TO BE THE LARGEST OF ALL EASTERN TREES

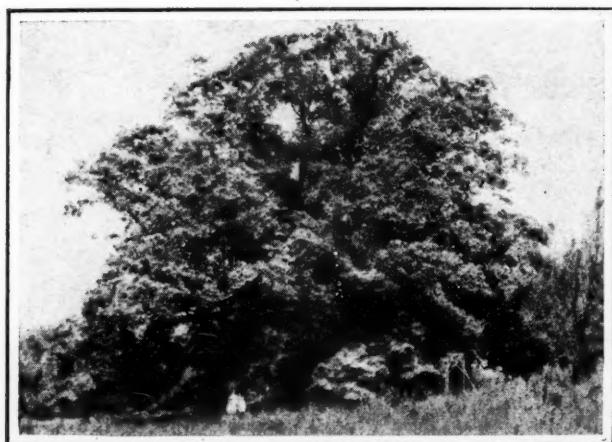
(Its extreme height is 125 feet, and the spread of its branches is 137 feet. The trunk is 26 feet 4 inches in circumference at a point four feet above the ground, dividing into seven branches)

standing in stately solitude in the center of a cultivated field. Here the axe of the pioneer, as he hewed his clearing in the forest, spared the tree because, even in that remote day, it was of such majestic proportions as to command his admiration and stay the blow of his axe.

The acknowledged charm and beauty of the old towns and villages of New England are due in great measure to the fondness of their founders for the elm, and the lavish hand with which they planted their main thoroughfares with this stately and extremely beautiful shade tree. For all our boasted modern civilization, there are some practices in which we might well imitate our American ancestors, among which this custom of tree planting is one. A love of nature conjoined, surely, with a touch of the artistic sense, and with a thought, no doubt, of those who would walk these streets in years to come, is manifested in this invariable practice of the pioneers of the eastern States. These shade trees are a noble legacy, and we doubt if anywhere in the world there exists a finer example of the decorative quality of planted trees than is to be found throughout the New England towns and villages that were founded some two or three centuries ago.

The elm is faster growing than the oak, but not so long-lived a tree. During its briefer life, however, and under favorable conditions, it will reach a size exceeding that of oak trees, although the life of the latter runs into many centuries. As witness of that fact, we have chosen for illustration the truly magnificent elm which stands on Broad Street, in the historically interesting old village of Wethersfield, now a suburb of Hartford. The residents claim that this is the largest elm in Connecticut, if not in New England. A study of its dimensions and of the striking picture herewith presented, for which we are indebted to Mr. Stephen Bulkley, a former resident, would seem to show that the claim is well made. We know of no hardwood tree, at least among the oaks and elms, that surpasses this splendid specimen in its dimensions.

The "Old Elm," which is believed to be over 150 years of age (though we think its dimensions call for a more liberal estimate), has a circumference of trunk of 26 feet and 4 inches at four feet above the ground. At a height of seven or eight feet it divides into seven branches, all of great size, the largest measuring seventeen feet in circumference. Its extreme height is 125 feet, and the spread



THE "ROSE OAK," NEAR MANTUA, IN SOUTHERN JERSEY
(Whose beauty lies not only in its great size but in the abundance of its foliage. The branches spread 113 feet, and the trunk has a girth of 19 feet. Note the persons standing under the tree)

of its branches from out to out is 137 feet. There is no reason why, under the care of the tree surgeon, it should not continue to cast its broad shade over the Wethersfield citizens for many a decade to come.

If the elm is the pride of New England, the oak tree may well claim to be the pride of the States which lie farther south, and particularly of New Jersey. It takes but a glance at the selected pictures which we give of oak trees of unusual size, to realize that these big fellows carry dimensions far beyond those of the average oaks that one may see in a stroll through any hardwood forest, or on a day's run through the highways of the country. It is said that the early pioneers, in selecting their lands in heavily forested districts, judged of the richness of the soil by the size of the vegetation upon it, and made their selection accordingly; and it is a fair presumption that the oaks of unusual size which one runs across here and there are a fair sample of the great forests of oak which the forefathers of the country found where the soil was rich and the rainfall plentiful.

The finest oak tree to be found in the neighborhood of New York is a beautiful specimen which stands in the ancient cemetery at

from the ground, and the spread of the branches is 120 feet.

If the tree lover wishes to see what are probably the largest oak trees existing in America to-day, he cannot do better than travel to southern New Jersey, to the villages of Mantua and Mount Royal and the town of Salem. Near Mantua he will



THE "TATUM OAK," NEAR MOUNT ROYAL, N. J.
(Accidentally burned in 1920, after an estimated life of 800 years. The trunk measured 24 feet 10 inches in circumference four feet above the ground. The tree was 92 feet high, with a spread of 116 feet in the branches)

Basking Ridge, N. J. It is noted not only for its size and beauty, but for the fact—as any villager will tell you—that George Washington, in one of his expeditions from his headquarters at Morristown, N. J., halted at Basking Ridge, and with his staff ate lunch beneath the shade of this tree, which was of great size 140 years ago. Because of this well-authenticated fact, the tree has been given a place by the American Forestry Association in the Hall of Fame for Trees. The trunk measures 17 feet 4 inches in diameter at four feet



Photograph by Warren T. Sparks

THE "SALEM OAK," IN THE OLD QUAKER BURIAL GROUND AT SALEM, N. J.

(Its great beauty results from its symmetrical outline and its even and graceful branches. The extreme spread of the branches is 118 feet. At four feet above the ground the trunk measures 18 feet 9 inches in circumference)

find the beautiful Rose oak, known successively as the "Hendrickson" and the "Avis" oak; for it has borne the names of its various owners. As will be noticed from our illustration, the beauty of this tree lies not only in its great size, but in the abundance of its foliage and its beautifully rounded contour. The Rose oak stands not far from Mantua Creek, and its dimensions are as follows: trunk girth at ground, 30 feet 10 inches; at four feet above ground, 19 feet; and at six feet above ground, 18 feet 10 inches. The spread of the branches is 113 feet, and its estimated age is between four and five hundred years.

Following down Mantua Creek for a couple of miles we come to the site of what three years ago, before it was destroyed by fire, was the greatest oak tree of all, the Tatum oak, which stood close to Mantua Creek near the village of Mount Royal. Its dimensions as taken in 1900 by the State Geologist of New Jersey, were as follows: trunk girth at ground, 40 feet; two feet above ground, 28 feet 6 inches; and four feet above ground, 24 feet 10 inches. The extreme spread of the branches was 116

feet, and the great tree was estimated to be 800 years old. That it was healthy and still growing is proved by a comparison of these 1900 measurements with others taken in 1917, or three years before its destruction by fire, when its height is said to have been 92 feet, its girth two feet above ground, nearly 30 feet, and six feet above ground 25 feet. The Tatum oak stood by itself on rising ground in the midst of a field, and it is probable that the pioneer who made the first clearing was so impressed with the size of the tree that he decided to preserve it.

In some respects the most beautiful of all the trees shown is that which is now standing in the old Quaker burial ground at Salem, N. J. The dimensions of this tree, taken in 1905, are: girth at ground, 28 feet 3 inches; two feet above ground, 20 feet 9 inches; four feet above ground, 18 feet 9 inches; and six feet above ground, 18 feet 4 inches. The extreme spread of the branches is 118 feet. Mr. Frank H. Stewart, president of the Gloucester County Historical Society writes that an earlier measurement of the Salem tree, taken in 1899, shows that between that date and

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1005 it gained $5\frac{1}{8}$ inches in girth. The fine photograph of this tree, for which we are indebted to Mr. Warren T. Sparks, of Salem, shows that its great beauty results from its symmetrical outline and its evenly distributed and gracefully curving branches. The excellent state of preservation, both of this tree and those in the Basking Ridge and Guilford graveyards, no doubt results from their being so located that they were protected from injury and probably received good care.

For the next and last of the famous trees which we have chosen for description we must travel far south to Guilford, N. C.

Here again we find ourselves on historic ground, on which are two venerable oaks, known as the "New Garden Oak" and the "Battleground Oak." The former stands in the Quaker burial ground, the other near the courthouse.

We learn from *American Forestry* that after the battle of Guilford Court House, March 15, 1781, which was fought near what is now Greensboro, N. C., Generals

Greene and Cornwallis both withdrew. The wounded were cared for by the Quaker settlement of New Garden, four and a half miles from the battleground, and those that died were buried beneath the shade of the "New Garden Oak." The original Friends' Meeting House still exists, and the modern meeting house stands on the campus of Guilford College, to the students of which we are indebted for the following measurements of the New Garden Oak: girth of trunk three feet above ground, 16 feet 8 inches; height 84 feet; spread of branches 113 feet. The "Courthouse," or "Liberty Oak," measures 16 feet 10 inches at three feet above ground; it is 77 feet high, and has a spread of 107 feet. It is of interest to note that Congressman Joseph G. Cannon was born at Guilford, May 7, 1836, and that his grandfather was buried in the cemetery and beneath the tree here illustrated, which is a lordly specimen of the American white oak. Both of these trees have been given a place in the Hall of Fame of the American Forestry Association.



THE "NEW GARDEN" OAK, IN THE QUAKER BURIAL GROUND AT GUILFORD, N. C.

(In the shade of which were buried those who died in the battle of Guilford Court House, in 1781. The tree now rises to a height of 84 feet, with 113 feet spread of branches; the trunk measuring 16 feet 10 inches three feet above the ground)



A CLASS IN POTTERY, AT THE INDIANAPOLIS SPECIAL SCHOOL FOR UNMANAGEABLE BOYS, WITH MRS. ANGELA MOLER AS TEACHER

TWO WOMEN, AND A SCHOOL FOR BAD BOYS

BY MARIE CECILE CHOMEL

"WE'RE takin' care of ourselves. Mrs. Moler is over in the loom room, and we're 'on honor,'" volunteered the boy who sat at the front desk in the big, sunny schoolroom, with its piano and plant-filled windows, its pictures and shelves of delightful pottery.

"On honor!" Strange words, indeed, to apply to the boys of the Indianapolis Special School—the school for incorrigibles, so-called—many of whom had been declared wholly unmanageable.

I knew them well, those "bad" boys; and I loved every mischievous imp among them. Long ago they settled for me at least the old controversy whether or not boys are created in the image of Satan.

And I knew as well the secret of their absolute trustworthiness in the matter of "takin' care of themselves." And the reason, as is usually the case, was a woman—two women, rather—Miss Addie Wright, principal, and Mrs. Angela Moler, teacher extraordinary.

It is my personal opinion that the teaching body of the United States does not offer another pair of teachers who have attained results so remarkable. Their experiment has been to turn bad schoolboys into good schoolboys, and their success has

given their work a reputation that is national:

Because these two remarkable women understand so well that down right bad boys are rare, but that a crop of "misfits" springs up with each school year, they have been able to work miracles. They have taken steps to render harmless at least one element from which radicalism might be looked for—the so-called unmanageables. Finally, they have given to their city three thousand good citizens, salvaged from "hopeless" material.

Effective beyond the dreams of the two teachers has been their plan of putting their mischievous charges "on honor." A daring innovation, but the astonishing results prove that once more they simply read boy nature aright. The part of Miss Wright and Mrs. Moler was to organize a school republic, turning over the entire management of classrooms and recreation, especially the enforcement of discipline, to the boys themselves. And now the entire local school world is bubbling with excited talk about how admirably the "unmanageable" boys govern themselves.

Of course, this system, in which students are placed on their honor and sobered by having responsibility laid upon them, is

not new. Its remarkable success, however, in such a school as this, among mere children, is something out of the ordinary.

However, it did not "just happen" that these boys developed the quality of self-government. Generally they arrived wild, rebellious, displaying ungovernable tempers, and in charge of truant officers. That was the precise moment when the work of Mrs. Moler assumed tremendous importance, for it was her idea to help these poor little urchins of the street to find their souls by putting beauty into their starved lives.

Angela Moler had seen a vision!

With Miss Wright's cordial coöperation she made it come true, and thereby opened the gates of paradise to *all* the waifs of the school. She gave them something that totally changed their drab existence, something that nobody ever dreamed of offering to boys of their type before.

Back of the ill-clothed bodies she comprehended the tragedy of unhappy home environment, the malnutrition, the working mother, lack of home training, low (or brilliant) mentality, that caused the boys to stick out of the smooth personnel of highly respectable schoolrooms like sore thumbs.

One thing she saw clearly. The emotional side of the boys must be cultivated. In many of them it was entirely lacking. They were just youthful stoics. Punishment meant nothing to them. Ambition must be instilled. In short, they must leave school with *an incentive in life*.

If Mrs. Moler had not chosen to devote

her life to making good boys out of bad boys, she would undoubtedly have made financial success along artistic lines. In fact, it was her genius in this regard that gave her the idea for the plan which she proposed to Miss Wright—to teach the boys the arts in which she herself had gained distinction. The lack of adequate equipment meant nothing to either woman. The school board would help, and there were scores of women—many of them club women—who had followed them every step of their way as pathfinders, and on whose loyalty they could depend.

Looking at that roomful of boys nothing would seem at first sight more incongruous than the mere suggestion that they would be capable of creating prized objects of art. Fancy that boy in ragged shoes and patched coat weaving an exquisite scarf in which blend delicate, cloud-like shadings of color. Well, he *did* make such a scarf—an altogether lovely thing—and, furthermore, both design and coloring were his own.

The finest silk threads are used for weaving the dainty hand bags and similar exquisite articles, many of which have been purchased by out-of-town connoisseurs. Then there is the rug-weaving. For this the boys color their own "rags" and draw their own designs.

They delight to model in clay, and their pottery has attracted wide attention.

They ravel out old linen, and from the pulp they fabricate Japanese paper of charming texture which serves for block printed cards. They etch the blocks, of course. Perhaps of all the different arts the dainty Japanese stenciling, with elusive qualities of form and color, strikes one as most surprising against that somber background of boyhood's unlovely waifs.

There are filmy fabrics, decorated with magic dyes, that might serve for the draperies of a première danseuse. There are rich table covers and sheer curtains. One boy took home a pair of curtains that inspired his mother to wash the windows!

It must not be supposed that there are no boy problems to add to the perplexities of Mrs. Moler. Her boys have not been amazingly metamorphosed into angels. Each new one brings a fresh and different problem. His soul has to be reached—it is always hidden away somewhere under the stoical exterior.

It is never suggested that a newcomer interest himself in this or that craft. "Ah,



WEAVING COSTLY FABRICS, AS A CURE FOR JUVENILE DELINQUENCY



A BOWL OF SOUP TO STIMULATE A BACKWARD CHILD

(Miss Addie Wright, principal of the school, stands at the left)

what's the use?" he sullenly whines when he is fitted into his class groove. "Ah, what's the use?" he demands of the boys as they eagerly grasp their opportunity for an hour's work with the fascinating colors. Nobody asks him to participate, but gradually the enchantment of the colors and the looms weave their spell, and no more is heard the whine, "Ah, what's the use?"

The discovery that the insidious demoralizer, hunger, was meddling with the pupils came about in a startling manner. One morning a boy collapsed in his seat. It was discovered that he had not eaten for two days. Then came further revelations that other "bad" boys were merely hungry boys. Many a boy carried to school what to all outward seeming was a luncheon nicely done up in paper, but there was nothing in the paper, and he pretended to eat because he was ashamed for the other boys to know.

Quietly these two women accepted hunger as one of their problems. Unknown to them was the fact that they had stumbled upon a big truth that was shortly to engage the serious attention of the educational world. Being pathfinders, they had to work out their own methods of solving the first and biggest of their boy problems.

It was Mrs. Moler who found the way. Her method was beautifully simple.

"We will give the boys a substantial

lunch of thick soup here at the school," she proposed.

"Who'll make the soup?" was all Miss Wright wanted to know. And when Mrs. Moler volunteered to come earlier in the morning, Miss Wright asked women friends of the school for soup bowls out of their own kitchens. Only God and the two women know where the funds came from to buy the food.

That they should have discovered a prevalent cause of the backward child and quietly taken steps to correct it, even at the cost of assuming the burden of cooking the meal, tells better than anything else the spirit in which these pioneers accepted their responsibility. Circumstances have forced the discontinuance of the daily lunch at this time, but the purpose has been served—the problem was brought to public attention and corrective measures adopted.

Each year there is a party or two. These occasions afford the newcomers, in many instances, their first contact with the cultivated side of life. For there are charmingly decorated luncheon tables, with linen, china, and silver. It is a revelation to some of the guests, and indeed a strange and unusual sight, to see seated at the well-appointed table the oddly assorted boys. Sometimes their clothing is not of festive quality, but they make up for that by scrubbing until face and hands are red from soapy

friction. One boy who went from school to a good position sent a gift of money "to give a party," saying that his ambition to make something of himself and live in a nice home dated from his first party.

It appears little less than miraculous that this school should have been left absolutely alone to work out its own salvation. The school board stood by, but with unexpected wisdom did not interfere. There were no fixed policies at the start. Had there been, the school must inevitably have failed. For none, least of all Miss Wright, knew whither she was bound. She and Mrs. Moler simply went gropingly on until they found the way to the "hopeless" boy's heart, and learned the secret of making school interesting to him. They had no means of knowing that they were destined to become a saving influence in the lives of thousands of city waifs. Confronted with a perplexing situation, they did their best by planning and putting into execution the remedy suggested by their intelligence, their love of the "bad" boy, their understanding of his nature and of what it was that made him bad. Their best proved to be epoch-making.

From the beginning the school has been unique in one important feature. It is wholly under control of the school authorities. Contrary to the general practice in institutions for boys of mischief-making tendencies, pupils are not committed there by order of court; the stigma of being a

court ward does not attach to them. Enrollment is simply a matter of transference, by the attendance department, from one public school to another.

The personnel of the school is not of any one type, classed psychologically, for in it each type is noted—normal, sub-normal, and super-normal. The presence of the latter is due, in all probability, to the fact that this boy's mind (brilliant above the average) speedily dispatches assigned academic work and with no new worlds to conquer he becomes a menace to his school.

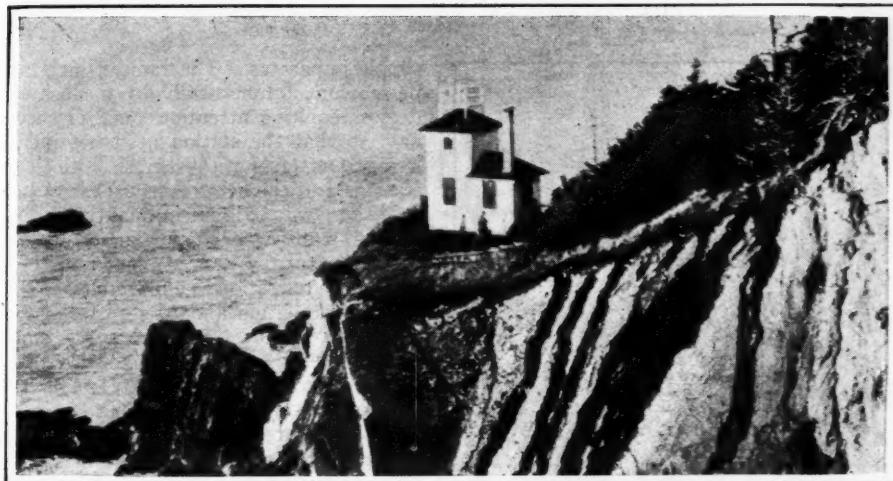
Educators, scientists, and social-workers from all parts of the country visit the school. Their amazement is complete when they learn that, contrary to precedent in such institutions, the pupils make high academic records. Harassed superintendents from other parts of the country often drop in to see how it is done.

Experience has proved that an experiment of this kind could only be successful if carried out by women, as boys of this type refuse discipline from men and are invariably sullen and hard to control.

And now, what are the women in your town doing toward solving the problem of its misfits? Of course you have such a problem. Every city and every town has. Is there, perhaps, an Angela Moler in your town who can find the souls of the misfits and save them for good citizenship?



WHOLESOME SPORT AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR MISCHIEVOUS PRANKS



UNCLE SAM'S NAVAL RADIO COMPASS STATION AT CAPE HINCHINBROOK, ALASKA

(Many of these stations have been erected along our coast line. Their range is over 200 miles. They are erected at small expense and give far more protection to vessels in dangerous waters than the old type of lighthouse)

THE RADIO LIGHTHOUSE

BY FRANCIS ARNOLD COLLINS

THE fate of the lighthouses which everywhere guard our coasts is doubtless typified by the New England beacon which has recently been extinguished and utilized as a museum. Despite the development of the sea tower the range of its signals is subject to definite limitations. A sea fog or heavy storm blankets the most powerful light and plays bewildering tricks in acoustics with its bells and sirens. The complicated machinery of the sea beacon is being replaced by radio lighthouses which open a new era in safeguarding life at sea.

The efficiency of these radio signals would have seemed magical to navigators a few generations since. They make it possible for a ship, 100 miles or more at sea, to determine her position in the thickest weather. Warnings of the presence of dangerous reefs or shoals are thus picked up several hours before they are reached. A navigator approaching a harbor is enabled to lay his course blindfolded, as it were, with mathematical accuracy. A similar installation makes it possible for a ship at sea to determine the exact position of other vessels, thus rendering collision impossible.

The radio lighthouse in America at least has passed its experimental stage. The apparatus is the invention of a member of

the Lighthouse Service and has been developed by years of patient experiment. It was first installed at the entrance to New York Harbor some ten years ago, when a series of tests were made. A lighthouse tender detailed for the purpose picked up the signals and laying her course accordingly attempted to enter the harbor without other guidance. In one test she approached New York from the eastern end of Long Island, and from the south, and again from the open sea. The courses thus determined proved to be so accurate that the tender after sailing forty miles by these directions alone, came within a few feet of the lightship which marks the entrance to the harbor. The world war put an end to these tests.

When the experiments were resumed, radio lighthouses were installed at three points at the entrance to New York Harbor: on the New Jersey coast, on a lightship at the harbor entrance, and on the Fire Island lightship off Long Island, thus forming a broad triangle. By checking the signals picked from these stations it was found that a navigator could steer without other observations and enter the harbor with perfect security.

The radio lighthouse has since been standardized, minimizing its cost and in-



THE FIRST LAND RADIO LIGHTHOUSE TO BE ERECTED IN THE UNITED STATES

creasing its efficiency. It has recently been installed on the lightships in the vicinity of New York, at Cape Hatteras, at San Francisco and other points along the Pacific Coast, and even in Alaska. The general installation of the radio lighthouse along our far flung coast line is only a matter of time.

The device standardized by the Lighthouse Service is surprisingly simple and inexpensive. The cost of building lighthouses in exposed positions along our coasts has often been very high. Several of these sea towers with their complicated lenses have cost \$300,000 each, and many lives have been lost in building them. To keep these beacons alight two or more men, and usually their families, must be engaged and a patrol constantly maintained to carry supplies to the stations. The radio lighthouse does away with the sea towers and their keepers. Since it works effectively as well over 100 miles as one, it is no longer necessary to build stations far out at sea on remote reefs. The signals can be sent from some village convenient to the shore where the problem of maintenance is simplified.

The general type of the radio lighthouse of the future is illustrated in the station installed at Cape Hinchinbrook, Alaska. In place of the stone tower rising 200 feet or more we find a small wooden structure, one or two stories in height, without decorative features of any kind. The radio lighthouse is not intended to be seen far out at sea, but only to afford protection for a

simple apparatus. The radio signals may be sent out automatically by a clockwork device requiring attention once or twice a day, so that the station need not include living quarters for the keeper. Both the stations and the apparatus are easily portable, and will be built in quantity. They may be readily picked up, carried by boat or wagon to any desired point and set up and put in operation in a few hours.

The installation aboard ship for picking up these warning signals is very simple and inexpensive. The mechanism requires little experience to operate, and any navigator can master it in a few minutes. The signals are picked up by a simple antenna placed on top of the pilot house. The antenna is mounted on a rod which passes through the roof directly above the compass. The navigator, by means of a telephone receiver, reads the radio signal and by turning the antenna ascertains the exact position of the sending station on the compass before him. No mathematical calculations are required. By plotting the direction of these signals from time to time it is possible to determine the exact distance of the ship from the sending station at the harbor entrance or danger point the vessel is approaching.

As the powerful lights along our coasts are dimmed a similar system of illumination will appear on the great airways across the continent. The engineers of the Air Service have recently developed and standardized types of land lights for guiding night flyers which will soon become familiar from coast to coast. A powerful land lighthouse has recently been installed at Hampton Roads and one of another type at Dayton, Ohio. The problem in designing a land light is wholly different from that at sea. A vessel observes a light from a plane below it, while a land light must be visible to flyers at any height above the ground, even directly above the signal. It is planned to install land lights of this type along the airways at intervals of about thirty miles, to enable the flyer to keep on his course.

Still another form of land-light signals has been designed for landing fields which will indicate to the airman aloft the position of the landing and the direction of the wind near the ground. A great white weather vane is a sufficient signal by day, while by night a powerful light is directed upon it from above. The airman can readily read this signal from an altitude of several miles.

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

What Shall Be Done for a Sick Europe?

HERE is no longer any serious effort in the British press to conceal or minimize the rapidly growing divergence of opinion between France and Great Britain. The case for France, so clearly presented in the pages of this REVIEW by Mr. Simonds, now receives scant attention in the British organs of public opinion. What may be taken, perhaps, as a fairly typical expression of English thought to-day, is the article by Sir George Paish, which has the place of honor in the *Contemporary Review* (London) for February.

After reviewing the Paris Conference in some detail this well-known British publicist says by way of comment:

The breakdown of the Conference and the imposition of such drastic sanctions, in spite of the opposition of America and the attitude of Great Britain, have rendered the whole situation infinitely more difficult and more alarming than it has yet been. The possibility of creating credit for the restoration of France and of the other war-injured nations has been rendered even more remote, while the prospect of obtaining reasonable reparation from Germany has vanished. The impoverished condition of Europe is thus intensified, and threatens to become permanent. The complete collapse of the mark and the effort of foreign holders to sell them must not only prevent Germany from obtaining new credits, but must prevent her from buying abroad anything like the quantity of produce she has hitherto purchased by reason of her ability to sell marks to foreign speculators. At the same time, the disorganization of her industries by the occupation of the Ruhr by French and Belgian troops, and by the effort of France to extract reparations in kind in spite of the passive resistance of the German people, will further reduce Germany's productive power and consequently her buying power. The trade and income of the surrounding nations will thus be further reduced, and their financial difficulties enhanced. Nor can France escape from the consequences of her own acts. With trade still more disorganized and with the buying power of Europe further reduced, the income of France will surely decline just at the moment when a great expansion of income is needed to preserve the French Government from bankruptcy.

What the political consequences of this situation will be no one can measure. But it is obvious that the bankruptcy of all the great nations of Europe

cannot fail to have political reactions of a far-reaching and of an unexpected character.

Nor can the effects of the financial and political condition of the Continent be confined to Europe. Never did the world need a great and active trade more than it does to-day, when every nation is plunged in debt and is finding great difficulty in balancing its income and expenditure. A fresh contraction in the buying power of Europe must be felt throughout the entire world, and must render the task both of budget adjustment and of meeting foreign obligations still more onerous. When one remembers that under normal conditions Europe buys two-thirds of all the goods exported by all the world, and that the present trade depression is entirely due to Europe's lack of buying power, one realizes that further contraction in place of expansion in Europe's purchases of foreign goods and produce must inevitably bring many otherwise solvent states to bankruptcy.

Sir George Paish does not disguise his belief that the failure to find a solution of the reparations question and the action of



JOHN BULL (TO FRANCE): "MY DEAR, WE WANT YOU TO GET AS MUCH AS YOU CAN, BUT YOU CAN'T GET YOUR HAND OUT IF IT'S TOO FULL."

From *Opinion* (London, England)

France in occupying the Ruhr threaten the solvency of many nations:

The dangers to which the whole world is now exposed, of a complete collapse of confidence, of credit, and of trade as well as of political trouble arising from unemployment and poverty, render it impossible for the nations any longer to permit events to continue to move as they are now moving. The question of German Reparation has ceased to be one which merely concerns France and Germany. It has become a world question of supreme importance. As matters stand, not only will both Germany and France become hopelessly ruined, but many other nations must share in that ruin. However much one may sympathize with France, she cannot be permitted to destroy the well-being of all nations in her endeavor to obtain the impossible. Therefore, it is essential for every nation now to participate in the task of finding a solution for the grave difficulties with which the whole world is confronted.

In order that every nation may take its part in this work, it is deemed essential that an international conference be convened at once, preferably by the United States, to discuss the political, economic and financial situation without limitation or restriction.

The Treaty of Versailles or, for that matter, any other treaty, must not be regarded as a closed book that cannot be opened. Every factor in the situation must be discussed if an accurate diagnosis of the world's malady is to be made. Nor must the question of Reparations be regarded as purely a French problem. Neither France nor any other nation can be allowed to prevent discussion of matters injuriously affecting the common good. The purpose of the Conference, moreover, must not be confined to mere academic discussion. Practical steps need to be taken with the least possible delay, and the Conference must be prepared not only to make recommendations but to act upon them. Every power should be invited to participate in the Conference, none should be excluded, as the remedies will demand the cordial coöperation of all in a common policy for the common good.

The problems needing to be solved, according to Sir George Paish, are:

1. By what measures can Europe regain its great buying power and the whole world its selling power and its prosperity?
2. By what method can France be compensated for the physical injuries she has received, and restored to her pre-war state?
3. How will it be possible to give France, or any other nation, security against aggressive action?
4. How can the peace of the world be maintained in future, and defensive expenditures greatly reduced?
5. To what extent must foreign war debts, including debts for reparation, be reduced or cancelled?
6. How far is the Treaty of Versailles responsible for the world's existing dangerous condition, and what revision is needed to render it equitable and workable?
7. How far do the existing tariff barriers between

the nations interfere with and reduce the currents of trade?

Not only can all these questions be answered by any competent and impartial Conference, but they must be answered if the imminent danger to which the nations are now exposed is to be overcome.

That France should dread the recovery which Germany must make if she is to make even reasonable reparation is easily understandable, but such dread does not justify her in demanding an impossible sum for reparations and then punishing the German people because they are unable to perform the impossible. Nor is any one of the Entente nations justified in demanding reparations from Germany and then erecting tariff barriers which prevent the payment of even reasonable sums. If the world does not want any considerable amount of German goods, then the Reparation payments must in justice be reduced to the sums that Germany can pay by means of the goods and services she can sell abroad after paying for the produce she must buy.

All these problems can be successfully settled, given the necessary desire. At present the statesmen do not desire to settle them, and consequently the danger becomes steadily greater. One of the great advantages of discussing them freely in an impartial World Conference would be the enlightenment which such discussion would bring, both to statesmen and to peoples. When public opinion is truly informed, no statesman will desire or be allowed to block world recovery.

The first essential to readjustment is to face the problems not from the national but from the international standpoint, with the realization that what is good for the whole is also good for the part. Europe can only regain its buying power if credit is provided in the first place for the restoration of the devastated districts, the repair of railways, the provision of agricultural machinery and the restocking of farms. During the period in which credit was available, trade would recover, Europe could buy, and the rest of the world would sell; and after the credit was expended productive power would be reestablished and with it permanent buying power. Credit must be granted not merely for the restoration of France but of all injured countries.

Since the credit which Europe needs must be raised for the greater part on the security of German reparations, the amount of such payments must be reasonable and within Germany's power to make. Otherwise, it will be impossible to raise the credit.

Another essential to the payment of reasonable German reparations is the restoration of Europe's buying power. Germany's customers are chiefly the surrounding nations which have been injured by the war, and only when they are able to purchase German goods, either by exchange or by credit, will it be possible for Germany to make the required annual reparation payments. Otherwise, Germany will always have difficulty in selling enough goods to buy what she herself needs. In concluding his article Sir George Paish says:

If France will abandon her fears, pursue a reasonable policy, and trust her future to the League of Nations, her security will be assured. On the other hand, the present policy of France is exposing her to great danger. On the one hand, she is losing, if she has not already lost, the friendship of America; she is rapidly losing the friendship of the British people, whatever may be the attitude of the present British Government; and she is creating for herself implacable enemies by the policy of her statesmen towards both Germany and Russia. If the present policy of France is maintained, very serious anxiety as to her future security will be justified. The security of France is intimately connected with the future peace of the world. At the present moment the nations are heading directly into a new war, mainly through the policy of France, and so long

as a policy of oppression is pursued, the danger will remain.

It is of the very greatest moment that the nations adopt a fresh attitude to one another and seek to assist, rather than to injure; to coöperate, than to be antagonistic. Certainly it will be quite impossible for the nations to escape shipwreck if they do not assist each other. Only by revising the Versailles Treaty, by making the Reparation payments reasonable, by the cancellation of the inter-Allied debt, by mutually guaranteeing the credit needed for the restoration of Europe, by lowering or abolishing their tariff barriers, and by doing everything possible to promote the recovery of all nations, can the nations overcome their present difficulties. Will peoples and statesmen understand while there is yet time?

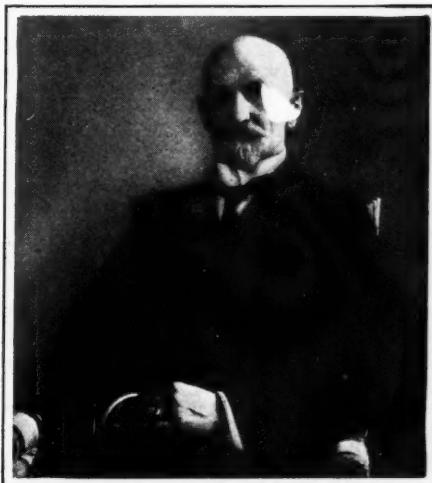
The New President of Poland

THE enemies of Poland are now comparing the restless Parliament at Warsaw to the unruly diets of the Eighteenth Century that prepared the way for the partition of Poland. It would be more just to admire the vital force of this people, which after a hundred and twenty-five years has gathered its scattered provinces and made of them a nation. The remarkable point is the relative benignity of this resurrection crisis, which Poland owes to the sage counsels of some of her citizens.

M. Jacques Carles in *L'Opinion* (December 29, 1922) gives an account of one of the men who has seen Poland through—her new President, Stanislas Wojciechowski:

There is little to distinguish him at first sight—this far-off successor of the knightly kings who under the orange banner fought the Turk or the Swede for Europe and civilization. He is careless in dress and his straggling beard and roughly modelled features are not to be compared to the barbaric splendor of Rembrandt's marshals, or even to the smart distinction of Pilsudski. But the chin shows energy and the glance is keen and shrewd.

Wojciechowski is first of all a man of moderation, who keeps equally aloof from any extreme to which the fiery Pole is naturally inclined. He is the man of the hour for the young and turbulent democracy. He entered public life as a Socialist, chiefly as a protest against Russian oppression. He was thrown into prison and then exiled. He lived in Geneva, Paris and London, and the years of banishment were fruitful in dissipating the fog of German Marxism. When he returned to Poland in 1904, he broke all ties with international socialism and devoted himself whole-heartedly to the coöperative movement, which he divined to be the prelude to the greater movement of national liberation, and which in the meantime freed the Polish peasant from the yoke of the Jewish village usurer. War broke out and Wojciechowski at once declared war to the death against the Central Powers, and made a campaign through Poland advocating a united stand against the enemy. He was driven from



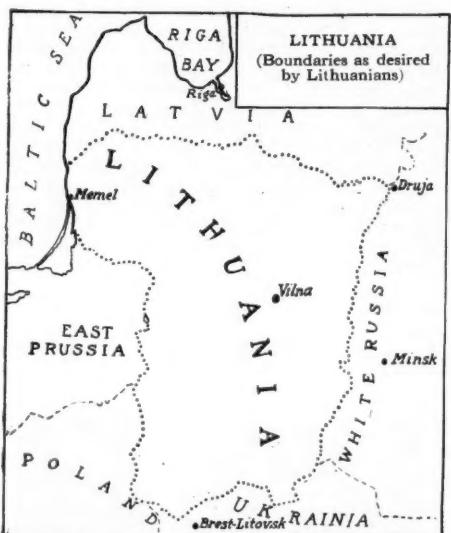
PRESIDENT STANISLAS WOJCIECHOWSKI

Warsaw by the Austro-German invasion, but once abroad he organized the dissenting factions of the Polish refugees and gave his aid to the French Government in the creation of the Polish legion which fought so gloriously at the Western Front under Haller.

On his return to Poland in 1919 Wojciechowski was given the portfolio of Secretary of State under Paderewski and kept it with one short interval until the end of 1920. Since that time he has devoted himself to the economic questions which he always preferred to theoretical politics. As a member of the *Piast* or peasant party, the "left center," he has kept apart from parliamentary groups. And although the majority which on December 20 last elected him as chief magistrate was a radical majority, it may be inferred that the new President will not be the tool of any party.

France, concludes M. Carles, "hails Wojciechowski as an old and tried friend."

The Relations Between Poland and Lithuania



AS the daily press has informed us, the League of Nations decided last autumn that the plebiscite at Vilna on March 6 and 20 of 1922 was illegal because the control of the voting was entirely in Polish hands. The Lithuanians, the Jews, and the White Ruthenians refrained from voting as a protest against the Polish military occupation, and made a formal complaint to the League.

But the existence at Vilna for more than a year of an illegal government under Zeligowski, the Polish administration tolerated for all that time in the contested district, the arbitrary elections and the vote for annexation to Poland cast by a Diet arbitrarily elected, have since complicated the question. The only remedy seems to be the awakening in Poland herself of a tide of reaction against this foolhardy irritation of Lithuania, which can so easily become a permanent menace to the peace of Eastern Europe. Signor Giuseppe Salvatori, in *La Vita Italiana* (October 15, 1922), explains the historical reasons for this discord between Lithuania and Poland, which has been as ancient and bitter as that between Scotland and England:

It began in the Fourteenth Century with the marriage of King Jagellon of Lithuania to the Polish Queen Hedwiga, and his subsequent coronation as King of Lithuania and Poland. Lithuania's political identity was nullified in the Union of Lublin of July 1, 1569. After that time the Lithuanian

nationality and language were barely kept alive among the peasants by the Protestant pastors who had the catechism and the Old Testament translated into Lithuanian. The Jesuits were then sent to Vilna and were obliged to preach and print tracts in Lithuanian. The language was thus preserved and a whole pastoral, peasant literature sprang like wild poppies from the fields and hedges and camp fires. In 1795 both Lithuania and Poland were swept from the map of Europe. One part of Lithuania was seized by Prussia and the larger part was incorporated into Russia. The failure of the revolution of 1830, in which Poles and Lithuanians fought side by side for their lost independence, reconciled the Lithuanian nobility and the peasants in a common bond against the Russians. To sow discord between nobility and peasantry Alexander II freed the peasants in 1861 from their feudal obligations. It had the opposite effect and the Russians retaliated with a ukase forbidding the use of Lithuanian and the Latin characters and imposing the Russian alphabet and language. This ukase remained in force from 1864 to 1904.

The clerical party and the Socialists, however, evaded the ukase by publishing their journals and books in Prussian Lithuania and in America. The journals and books were then smuggled into Russian Lithuania with such success that the Russian Governor of Vilna, Prince Sviatopolk-Mirski, advised Petersburg to revoke the ukase "as the incoming flood of Lithuanian books cannot be stemmed." The Russo-Japanese war and the necessity for conciliating the provinces finally induced Russia to abolish the ukase in 1904, and during the nine years before the world war, public education made great strides. More than twenty periodicals flourished and the current literature of the world reached Lithuania through their pages.

This renaissance was marked by a predilection for poetry. The economic problems of the country were not neglected and private banks, farmer's loan societies and co-operative associations were founded in such number that suppression of Lithuania as a national entity is now next to impossible.

"In brief," Signor Salvatori concludes, "until party passion entered into the question to poison the relations between the two adjacent countries, the Polish writers themselves were first to recognize their brothers' right to independence. Nor did they ever contest the Lithuanian right to Vilna. Now this right is questioned because of political reasons. The suspicion is strong that the Poles intend to speculate on the great love of the Lithuanians for their historic capital in order to force them into concessions as to their future political status. The old historical union of Poland and Lithuania in which Poland would have the upper hand is energetically opposed by the Lithuanians who, mindful of their past misfortunes, do not intend in any way to be subject to Warsaw's policy."

Broadcasting the Orient

THE possibilities of wireless communication throughout the countries of the East are attracting the attention of Americans who are interested in the practical applications of radio. In the January number of *Asia* Mr. Waldemar Kaempfert makes several highly suggestive statements concerning what has already been done or is just about to be done in both the Near East and the Far East, by way of using radio as an instrument of mass appeal.

The reader is cautioned, however, against the assumption that radio will take the place of telephone and telegraph, either in the Orient or in the Occident. The absence of wires sometimes leads us to underestimate the cost of radio communication. When villages are separated by 200 miles, Mr. Kaempfert suggests that it is cheaper to connect them with telephone wires than to rely on radio. In fact, it is only when wires have to be strung through miles of dense jungle or over vast deserts that radio can profitably compete with overhead lines. Moreover, there is no privacy in radio conversation, and the real value of radio, both for Europe and Asia, is in its broadcasting, mass appeal. Millions of Asiatics, having made little or no use of railways, the telegraph or the telephone, will find little difficulty in adapting themselves to radio broadcasting, the most modern means of communicating intelligence.

The transformation will be startling. As civilizations go, much of China, India and Burma is as old as Phoenicia. The Chinese and Indian cultures are the only ones that have come down the ages intact. If the slaves who built the pyramids and the Sphinx were to be resurrected and endowed with the means of listening to some powerful broadcasting station, without learning anything of locomotives, airplanes, telegraphs and telephones, we should have a parallel to what is destined to occur in the heart of Asia within a generation.

When radio is widely introduced in Asia, it will seem familiar to races mystically inclined. The directness, the telepathic swiftness of the process fires the imagination of the Occident. But to the Orient it will be actually less astonishing

than it is to us, because the belief in thought-transference is there more deeply rooted than it is in the West and because transmitters and receivers will seem but the artificial counterparts of telepathically communicating mentalities.

Since communication means organization, Mr. Kaempfert predicts that radio, particularly in its broadcasting aspects, will prove to be the most potent unifying influence that has appeared since the railway and the telegraph were invented. For Asia, radio will be even more potent than these, because it will affect great masses of humanity, separated by weeks and even months of travel now so illiterate that they may receive new knowledge only by word of mouth.

Grant that for a fraction of a penny a Chinese or Indian laborer can listen to a broadcasted lecture, play or song, and it follows that radio is destined to become the ear-newspaper, the ear-stage of the Orient. The radio stations now in Asia have been erected chiefly by the English, French and Japanese governments. Englishmen and Americans hardly appreciate the political importance of speech. There has never been a well-directed effort to make English a world language. Assuming that either England or the United States should seriously attempt to thrust English upon Asia, through entertaining broadcasted songs or highly instructive lectures over their radio systems, every Asiatic schoolboy, five generations hence, may know more about English literature than a Harvard bachelor of arts now knows about Sallust or the philosophy of Vespasian's time.

It seems probable that the Japanese will be the first among Oriental peoples to discover the propaganda value of radio broad-



American Museum of Natural History

AN EXTEMPOORIZED WIRELESS STATION IN THE GOBI DESERT

(Bayard Colgate, with the Third Asiatic Expedition in Mongolia, getting the correct time by wireless from Peking—an important factor in determining exact position in a region which has been only partially explored)

casting. They now have one of the most powerful radio units in the world at Haranomachi, the receiving station, and Tomioka, the sending station, both in Iwaki Prefecture.

The French have already established fifteen radio stations in Indo-China, which receive every night from Bordeaux, France, full market and exchange reports and the news of the day. The British now have a radio system, linking nearly every important British colony in the Near East and the Far East with London.

When her plans are completed, England will possess an imperial radio system which will enmesh every ship that flies a British flag, every army post on the frontier of Afghanistan, every handful of British colonists under the sun. The ear of Bombay will be as accessible as that of Liverpool, and so will the ear of the native of Tongking, who owes a theoretical allegiance to France.

There is now no direct radio communication between Asia and the United States, but the Chinese Government has contracted with the Radio Corporation of America and the Federal Telegraph Company of California to provide radio facilities. A transoceanic station is to be erected at Shanghai and subsidiary stations at Harbin, Peking and Canton. All are to be free of Japanese and British censorship. Regular radio service from the United States is now

maintained with the Hawaiian Islands and Japan.

Mr. Kaempfert predicts that illiterate populations in Asia will come to look upon radio much as we do upon newspapers and magazines. What the press does in the West, radio is likely to do in the East. Think of the possibilities of such an instrument in the hands of leaders like Gandhi or Mustapha Kemal!

A single Asiatic high-power station can radiate song and speech over an area of thousands of square miles; its waves can penetrate millions of homes. A dozen stations would meet the needs of all China; six of all India; fifty, strategically located, of all Asia. Station can be linked with station by telephone-wire; the voice currents transmitted by wire can be switched to the broadcasting transmitters and flashed into space as ethereal waves. Broadcasting material can be picked up wherever it is to be found. The orator, the musician, may address himself to a continent, his voice sent forth from half a dozen stations at the same time, even though he be seated in his own home.

In concluding his article, Mr. Kaempfert alludes to the fact that last year, for the first time in the history of scientific exploration in the heart of Asia, Roy Chapman Andrews, leader of the third Asiatic Expedition of the American Museum of Natural History, used a wireless receiving outfit. Bayard Colgate, the operator, got official time from Peking for making scientific observations.

Waging War on Predatory Animals

AHDSOME and entertaining periodical which has just made its bow in Washington under the auspices of the American Nature Association is called *Nature Magazine*, and is described by its promoters as "a monthly magazine where the child and the grown-up alike may revel in pictures and stories of birds, beasts, fish, trees, plants and other living evidence of the Creator's handiwork." The new magazine is as profusely illustrated as *Natural History*, the well-known publication of the American Museum of Natural History in New York, but is considerably more elementary in its style, so that these two journals will probably supplement rather than rival each other.

An article in the opening number, "Uncle Sam's Professional Hunters," by H. D. George, describes the adventurous deeds of the men employed by the U. S. Biological

Survey to check the ravages of predatory animals on the grazing lands of the western United States. We are told that more than \$35,000,000 worth of cattle, horses, sheep, goats and hogs have been saved from death during the last seven years by these official nimrods. On the national forest grazing lands alone the animals requiring protection from wolves, bears, coyotes and other predators include 2,322,000 cattle and horses, 8,325,000 sheep and 3,000 hogs. The writer says:

Last year there were 266 expert hunters in the employ of Uncle Sam and his Bureau of Biological Survey. This army of adept riflemen killed, trapped and poisoned a total of over 80,000 dangerous predatory animals, including 687 timber wolves, 173 mountain lions, 114 bears, 2,827 bobcats and Canada lynxes and 77,185 coyotes. When one considers that the average wolf and mountain lion kills \$1,000 worth of live stock a year; the bobcat or coyote, \$50; and the bear \$500 worth of horses, cattle, sheep, hogs and goats, the vast importance of destroying

these range rogues and preventing their ravages becomes immediately apparent.

A single wolf in South Dakota had a record of having destroyed more than \$25,000 worth of valuable live stock in the course of six years, while a ferocious grizzly, killed by one of the government hunters in Arizona, was believed to have done damage to the extent of more than \$75,000 in the whole of his destructive career.

A Utah hunter with his dog killed five mountain lions in three hours which were destroying more than \$5,000 worth of live stock a year. After a chase of 20 days one of Uncle Sam's sharpshooters killed 8 wolves in Arkansas that had destroyed \$20,000 worth of cattle, pigs and sheep. Nine wolves were recently shot near Split Rock, Wyoming that had destroyed live stock valued at \$10,000. These are only a few of the 380,000 predatory animals which have been killed by the government hunters during the last seven years since the army of national nimrods was organized and put in action.

Farmers' and stockmen's associations, State agricultural departments and ranch organizations coöperate with the U. S. Biological Survey in its determined drive to rid the western ranges of stock-killing animals. At present the work is well organized and conducted in fifteen of the mountain and prairie States, including Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, North and South Dakota, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Oregon, Texas, Utah and Washington. The President of the State Agricultural College of New Mexico reports that during a recent year 34,350 cattle, 165,000 sheep and 850 horses were killed by predatory animals in his State. These losses mean the sacrifice of 16,000,000 pounds of meat and 1,320,000 pounds of wool worth altogether over \$2,716,000. These losses indicate the vital need for the national nimrods and their trusty rifles as the most efficient means of controlling these live-stock massacres.

The federal sure shots use saddle horses, pack mules, motorcycles and automobiles in covering their beats, in setting and patrolling trap lines and



"A CAPTAIN KIDD OF THE WESTERN RANGE COUNTRY"—THE WOLF, WHICH PREYS ON LIVE STOCK

in laying lines of poison bait over areas which cover from 50 to 300 or more square miles in extent. The motor cars are of particular advantage to the hunters as they provide a rapid means of transportation and pursuit of the wild game. Whenever certain predators are discovered in a locality, the local stockmen immediately notify the State or national headquarters of the government hunter service to send reinforcements. As many riflemen as are needed are dispatched to the community with instructions to remain there until they have killed, poisoned or captured the predatory freebooters.

Maxim Gorky Analyzes Russian Character

IN the pages of the *Revue Bleue* (Paris) there appeared recently a long article running through three numbers, in which Maxim Gorky analyzes—and indeed one might well say arraigns—the character of the Russian peasant. The character he depicts is limned in such dark colors that had it come from the pen of a foreign visitor to Russia it might be supposed to be the product of prejudice.

Gorky affirms with the greatest solemnity that the souls of his countrymen are so compounded of anarchy, cruelty, igno-

rance, superstition and intolerance as to fill him with despair. The first two traits he considers innate and the words "Anarchy" and "Cruelty" are used as headings for part I and part II of his article, "Skepticism" being part III. He remarks at the beginning of the first section that all races are anarchists in essence, wishing to eat much and to work little—to possess privileges and to shirk duties, and he goes on to state that this is particularly true of the Russian peasants, whose subjection and servitude have been more

bitter and more long continued than those of other European peoples.

He draws a very interesting contrast between the way in which the soul of man is molded under the influences of life in cities and life on the great steppes. The citizen is the heir of the ages, surrounded by the mighty works—buildings, bridges, machines, books, and pictures which remain as the monuments of his fathers. Hence he feels himself the lord and master of the forces of nature, bending them proudly to do his will and serve his pleasure. The peasant, on the other hand, is oppressed by the sense of his own insignificance amidst these same vast powers of nature. He is submerged by a wave of melancholy as he gazes upon the boundless plains which stretch away from him on every side of his humble thatched *isbah*—so frail that its wooden walls may go up in smoke at any moment, as they actually do, it is said, an average of three times in each generation.

Such property as he owns is wrung from the soil by the sweat of his brow and the labor of his hands reinforced not by the mighty engines of modern civilization but only by the humblest and most primitive of instruments. But Gorky draws from this very fact the deeply significant observation that this very difficulty of acquiring possessions makes them trebly dear, so that the property sense among the peasants is deeply rooted and strongly developed. While he does not say in so many words that this offers an almost insuperable obstacle to the spread of Bolshevik ideas among them, one can but feel that he believes it; and this feeling is strengthened by the review he gives of various attempts at communism, beginning in the early 17th century, all of which not only failed but left no trace upon the Russian soul. Apropos of this he says:

Concerning all these revolutionary uprisings one can repeat quite literally the words of the historian who said of the terrible period of the Smouta [one of the earlier revolutionary movements]: "None of these revolts has changed anything, has brought anything new into the mechanism of the state, into the order of ideas, into the manners or aspirations of the people . . ." and to this judgment one may add the conclusion expressed by a foreigner who had closely observed the Russian people: "This people has no memory of its own history. It does not know its own past and to all appearance it does not wish to know it."

The Grand Duke Serge Romanoff told me one day that in 1913 (when the tricentenary of the Romanoffs was celebrated and when the Czar was at Kostroma), another Grand Duke Nicholas

Mikhailovitch, the esteemed author of a series of serious historical works, said to the Czar, indicating the thousands of peasants who stood before him: "These are exactly the same peasants as those of the 17th century who elected the Czar Michael—they are absolutely the same! Do not you think that this is a bad thing?"

The Czar remained silent. It is said that he never answered serious questions. This may be a proof of sagacity when it is not a sign of folly or of fear.

What Gorky has to say about the ingrained and revolting cruelty of his fellow countrymen, literally makes one's blood run cold! He holds no brief for either Reds or Whites, declaring both to be equally culpable—since both are Russians—of the atrocities some of whose details he lays before the horrified reader. One might think these people to be fiends in human shape and utterly irreclaimable but for the remembrance that it is only a few hundred years ago since our own ancestors in Western Europe reveled in similar cruelties. He says:

Cruelty is a thing which I have never been able to comprehend in my whole life and which has always caused me great pain. Some time ago I read a book bearing the suggestive title: "The Progress and Evolution of Cruelty." The author, after having skilfully chosen facts which might prove his thesis, tried to show that with the development of progress men torture each other physically, spiritually, and still more, sensually. I read this book with disgust . . . and made haste to refute its paradoxical statements. But now, after the terrible madness of the European War and the bloody episodes of the Revolution, these bitter paradoxes again invade my memory.

But I must remark at once that there has been no evolution in Russian cruelty. Its forms appear to undergo no change. . . . In Russian cruelty one has a sense of a sort of devilish connoisseurship, as of something delicate and fine . . . I have sometimes asked myself whether this is not a tare produced by alcoholism, and then I have said to myself that the Russian people is no more poisoned by alcohol than the other peoples of Europe, though it may be possible that the poison of the alcohol reacts more severely upon the mind of the Russian peasant, whose food is wretched, than in other countries where the populace is accustomed to an abundant and varied nutrition. It is possible, too, that the reading of the "Lives of the Martyrs"—a favorite pastime in the villages among those who are not illiterate—has not been without influence upon the origins of the Russian genius for cruelty.

We refrain from quoting the revolting and sickening details of various methods of inhuman torture which Gorky here describes. Following this portion of his article he calls attention to the habitual cruelty with which Russian women are beaten by their lords and masters, and he remarks that perhaps no other country can

boast of the sort of popular wisdom which is expressed in the following proverbs:

"Beat your wife with the butt of your gun and then lean over her and listen. If she still breathes she is only acting—hit her again."

"A woman is dear twice in her life—the day she is married and the day she is buried."

"There is no law for women and beasts."

"The more you beat your wife the better your soup will taste."

The most depressing thing in the article

is Gorky's melancholy conviction that the atrocities he recites can not be ascribed to depraved individuals, but mark the temper of entire communities—and yet remembering what took place only a few centuries ago in such enlightened lands as England, France, Germany, and even our own United States (during the witch craze, for instance), we can but hope that the spread of knowledge and of wisdom may ameliorate the character of this unhappy race.

The "Living Wage" for Railroad Workers

THE "living wage" is a social ideal which, in the abstract, commands itself to everybody, but which becomes a bone of contention as soon as we begin to define our terms and, especially, when we turn from utopian theorizing to practical applications.

When the railroad shopmen struck last July, the maintenance-of-way employees, who constitute a vast army of mainly unskilled and low-paid wage-earners, suspended their threatened walkout, pending a rehearing of their claims before the Railroad Labor Board. The decision of the board, effective October 16, 1922, granted an increase of 2 cents an hour to section men, track laborers and laborers in and around shops and roundhouses. This increase was based upon a corresponding increase in the wages prevailing in other industries, as compared with those paid when the previous scale was fixed.

In their appeal for higher wages the maintenance-of-way men had contended that the board should take as the basis of action the "living wage" principle. In this contention they were supported by one of the labor members of the board, whose dissenting opinion, which is published, along with the decision of the majority of the board, in the *Monthly Labor Review*, deals at length with the question of the living wage. Lastly, the supporting opinion of the majority of the board is mainly devoted to a rebuttal of the arguments put forward by the dissentient member, and the two documents in question are worthy of the attention of all students of labor problems. The point of departure of the disputants on both sides is the requirement of the transportation act of 1920 that the Railroad Labor Board shall establish wages that are

"just and reasonable." The following extracts indicate the line of argument of the minority member:

The specific and fundamental mandate of the law is that wages shall be just and reasonable. The relation of rates of pay to those established in private industry, or the relation of rates of pay to the cost of living, is a secondary consideration which does not come into play until the primary requirement of a "just and reasonable" or an adequate or living wage has been satisfied. Under these duties of the board it is manifest that the rates of pay of unskilled workers, or those at the bottom of the wage structure, must first be established on an adequate basis—a basis sufficient to maintain and perpetuate in a reasonably comfortable and decent way the unskilled worker and his family—and after this has been done just and reasonable differentials above this basic wage for unskilled labor must be established in accordance with skill, experience, productiveness, hazard, training, etc.



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AMERICAN INDUSTRY AWAITSTHE ADJUSTMENT OF RAILROAD WAGES AND FREIGHT RATES

From the *Tribune* (Chicago, Ill.)

Under any proper interpretation of the transportation act, therefore, I hold that an adequate or living wage to unskilled railroad employees is a legal right of such employees, and that the Labor Board is not meeting the mandates imposed upon it by the law in its failure to accept the living-wage principle. The principle should, of course, be applied with discretion and with due caution. . . .

The board must accept some fundamental principle as the basis of wage fixing; otherwise, it can follow no guide but the relentless, inhuman, fluctuating forces of supply and demand. It can not be denied that in private industries the wages of unorganized and unskilled workers are very largely fixed by these forces. As industrial development progresses, however, supply and demand enters less and less into the wage question, until a condition of affairs is oftentimes reached where employees and employers are organized and are of about equal economic strength, and where both parties agree to meet together and bargain collectively, referring such matters as can not be settled in conference to an impartial tribunal for final adjudication. When this is done, as is the case in many private industries, there can be no place for the invocation of the law of supply and demand. An arbitration board selected must ignore these factors, and in its deliberations and decisions attempt to establish rates of pay which are adequate and equitable, or, in other words, just and reasonable.

The use of a family budget, says the writer of this opinion, is essential to any attempt at ascertaining what a "living wage" should be. The budget proposed is based on the requirements of an unskilled laborer, his wife and three dependent children. The writer adds:

Many objections, both from the standpoint of equity and of a practical statistical character, have been submitted against the budgetary method by representatives of the railroads. Some of these objections are merely technical; others involve more serious considerations. None are insurmountable, and all can be overcome by the exercise of sound judgment and discretion by the board.

It has also been claimed that the practical application of the living-wage principle by the budgetary method would be financially impossible, or would involve such a financial outlay as would constitute a grievous burden to the shipper and to the consumer. If established on the railroads, it is also declared that it would have to be met by private industries, and the resultant cost would mean a general increase in prices or an industrial breakdown.

Similar arguments and prophecies have been developed in the past against the establishment of the eight-hour workday and other measures of industrial equity or amelioration. The dire results which have been predicted have never materialized. Likewise, a conservative, practical application of the living-wage principle would undoubtedly be attended by better and more advantageous conditions of railway operation. Added labor costs would be absorbed completely or to a large extent by increased labor efficiency and by managerial ability. The practical experience in Australia, where this same argument was used against the adoption of the living-wage principle as the basis for wage fixing, is of much value, and shows the

unsoundness of the position of those who have taken an attitude of extreme opposition. . . .

In the course of a long reply to these contentions, the majority of the members say, in support of the board's decision:

The adoption of the family of five as the typical family is arbitrary and questionable. According to the United States census of 1920 there were 24,351,676 families in a population of 105,710,620, an average of 4.4 persons to a family, and not 5. This includes all members, regardless of age. The census also shows that there were about 35,000,000 dependent children under 16 years of age, an average of 1.4 dependent children to a family, and not 3 as assumed in the living-wage theory.

Furthermore, the 1920 census also shows that for each family there are 1.36 male workers. According to the living-wage theory each family of five would be supported by one worker, while as a matter of fact each family would have the support of 1.36 workers.

It is interesting and instructive to take note of the undoubted results that would follow the adoption of the theory of "the living wage." The representative of the employees states that according to the lowest living budget now available the living wage for common labor should be 72 to 75 cents an hour.

To bring the rates of common labor on the railroads to 72 cents an hour would necessitate an increase of 125.7 per cent. To maintain existing differentials between the rates of common labor and skilled labor—and the representatives of the employees insist that proper differentials must be maintained—would necessitate an increase by the same percentage of the rates of all classes of railroad workers.

This would add approximately \$3,112,952,387 to the annual pay roll, bringing it up to \$5,589,445,993. Total expenses would then be approximately \$7,804,871,733, and total revenues (1921) \$5,563,232,215, and the carriers would face an annual deficit of \$2,241,639,518.

But, the representatives of the employees say, it would be impracticable to establish the living wage all at once, but that as a starter 48 cents an hour should be made the minimum wage for common labor for the present. Assuming the retention of the existing differentials for common labor on the railways, and for all other classes of labor, this would mean an increase of 50.45 per cent., which would add to the annual wage bill \$1,249,390,994, bringing it up to \$3,725,884,540.

The total annual expenses of the railways would be \$5,941,310,340 and total revenues (1921) \$5,563,232,215, and the carriers would be up against an annual deficit of \$378,078,125.

In either instance there would not be a cent of returns for stockholders. Of course, for those who desire Government ownership this would be a quick method of getting it, for it is a sure thing that the public would not stand for the imposition of higher rates to pay such a deficit.

It must be remembered, in the last analysis of the matter, that the public would have to pay this wage bill, and when we say the public, everybody, rich and poor, is included. A vast percentage of the burden would be passed on to laboring men and women in other lines of industry in the form of increased living expenses.

The Curse of Babel in Europe

"**L**ANGUAGE," says Mr. A. L. Guerard in the *National Geographic Magazine* (Washington), "remains the worst frontier in Europe; the most complicated, the most impassable, the hardest to adjust, the most fertile in conflicts and hatred."

Western Europe—*i. e.*, Europe minus Russia—a region very much smaller than the United States, rejoices in the possession of some forty languages (not including innumerable local *patois*), which are taught in schools, used in printing books and newspapers, and, even in cases where they are not officially established, are strong enough to create a "language question" which is capable of giving rise to violent events. Some of the things implied in this situation are thus described by the writer:

Two hundred miles is the distance, as the crow flies, from New York to Boston, Syracuse, or Washington—a matter of less than six hours by fast train. Soon we shall think of it as a two-hour ride in a commercial airplane. Now, if with any one of the European capitals as a center (with the exception of Rome) you draw a circle 200 miles in radius, you will find that at least four different languages are reached. Such a circle forms very restricted bounds for the scientist or business man.

And it is indeed a prison. Beyond its wall reign incomprehension, indifference, hatred. If a man lands on the wrong side of the language boundary, the very accent of his speech marks him for a foreigner, frequently for an enemy. He is fair game for the crook and an object of suspicion to the police.

The telephone turns into a mockery. What is the use of being connected with Berlin and Rome if you can't speak German or Italian? The telephone is pitiless for strangers whose pronunciation is imperfect. It is not always easy to get the right number even in your own language, but with the added handicap of a foreign accent, the case is well-nigh hopeless.

Matters would be quite bad enough, even if the people using each of these numerous languages were segregated so as to form well-defined linguistic units, but such is far from being the case. As Mr. Guerard points out:

Confusion grows worse confounded when, instead of forming a patchwork or mosaic of self-contained elements, populations of different speech jostle one another in the same territory. No map can do full justice to such a situation, the result of conquest, migration, or infiltration.

Frequently the dominant population belongs to one linguistic group, the common people to another. Thus, the Poles, who were held down as a subject majority in Posen, found themselves a ruling minority in the east and southeast of their ancient

kingdom. Persecuted by the Prussians, they lorded it in their turn—and with no waste of gentleness—over White Russians, Lithuanians, and Ruthenians.

The cases of Transylvania and the Banat of Temesvar are singularly complicated. When the receding Turkish flood left Transylvania in Hungarian hands, a Rumanian-speaking peasant population, unorganized and illiterate, was dominated by Magyar *Szeklers*—a significant word, for it means frontier guardsmen; and among Rumanians and *Szeklers* live solid colonies of Saxons.

In the Banat, Rumanians, Servians, Germans, and Magyars are hopelessly entangled.

Perhaps the most extreme case is provided by the city of Saloniki and its immediate hinterland in Macedonia. The place was Turkish for centuries, and is now under Greek rule; but the languages of its present and of its former masters are used only by minorities. At its very gates are found Macedonian peasants whose Slavic speech shades off imperceptibly from Serb to Bulgar, thus providing a battle-field for philologists and diplomats, a "question" drenched in blood and printer's ink!

Romanian (Kutzo-Wlach) and Albanian tribes hover near, and the chief element in the city is Jewish. But those Jews, exiled from Spain ages ago, still speak a Spanish jargon, instead of the Germanized Yiddish of most of their co-religionists.

Thus it has come to pass that at Saloniki, as at Constantinople, the language in which the best schools are conducted and the leading newspapers are published is French.

In striking contrast to the "melting pot" process which operates with such facility among the foreign immigrants to our shores, linguistic groups in the Old World tend to become more and more tenacious of their ancestral tongues as time goes on. We read:

Many nations have revived and struggled for recognition, for the last hundred years; and every little group, as soon as it acquired consciousness, became loudly assertive and exclusive. Sinn Fein could be the motto of all the national revivals in recent history.

Nationalism has no doubt been a great power for good, but it has also exacted a heavy price. In reviving the Czech language as a vehicle of culture, the Bohemians erected a new barrier between themselves and the rest of the world. Catalonia is the most active part of Spain, and the Catalan language has a noble tradition; yet it seems a pity that this sturdy, progressive population should not be satisfied with Castilian, a language of world-wide availability.

The Irish Free State will not let the Irish language fade away; it may even require every loyal Irishman to burden his mind with that venerable and impracticable instrument.

In 1830, French was practically the sole culture language of all the Belgians. But the Flemings would have no peace until they had secured for their Dutch dialect full equality with French, thus

creating a linguistic barbed-wire fence through a country about as large as Maryland and Delaware together.

France had repeatedly threatened the independence of Belgium, and Flemish belongs to a different family from French, so there is some justification in the hostility of the Flemings to the supremacy of the French language.

These reasons do not exist in the case of Rumanian. There was no Rumanian literature until half a century ago. French was the current language of all educated people in Rumania; only French was heard in the salons and theaters of Bucharest, and even in the corridors of the National Parliament.

French and Rumanian are cognate languages, and there is not the slightest danger that France would ever threaten the political or economic independence of Rumania. It seems as if the wise thing to do would be to adopt French as the official language of the new state.

But that was incompatible with the fierce pride of a new nationality, which must have all the appurtenances of its dignity—a dynasty, a diplomacy, an army, a navy, a language. So, without any feeling of hostility toward France, patriotic Rumanians began deriding and even mishandling the *Bon-jouristes*, as they called their Frenchified aristocracy.

One of the most curious instances of this craving for national differentiation, this "Ourselves Alone!" in the linguistic domain, is provided by the Norwegians. It seems bad enough that Scandinavian, spoken in five countries (Sweden, Norway, Den-

mark, Finland, and Iceland), should be divided into at least two branches, which a peculiar accentuation makes noticeably different.

We might desire to see the rise of a Pan-Scandinavian, overriding local idioms, in the same way as the King's English is superseding provincial forms. But Norway has chosen another path. She was getting along well enough with Danish as her official language, when some patriot discovered that the use of Danish was the badge of previous servitude. So, against Danish, or *Riksmaal*, a new "national" tongue was set up, the *Landsmaal*. This, although it calls itself the Norwegian Popular Language, is an artificial combination, a composite dialect, on the basis of old Norse peasant *patois*. It is not spoken spontaneously anywhere, but it is taught, it is gaining ground, and it may become the sole medium of expression in Norway.

Thus an obstacle deeper than the Skagerrack will be created between two sister countries which, even combined, would form too small a culture group.

The practical solution of this formidable problem lies, we are told, in the adoption of an international auxiliary language. The author heartily approves of the preservation of existing natural languages, and even dialects, and explains the aesthetic and social purposes they serve, but he declares that an international means of communication, in addition thereto, has become an imperative necessity.

Further Studies of the Aurora

THE auroral display observed over a great part of the northern hemisphere March 22–23, 1920, probably the most extensive and brilliant that has occurred in the present generation, is still furnishing material for papers in the scientific journals. Writing on this subject in the *Comptes Rendus* of the French Academy of Sciences (Paris), Prof. Carl Störmer, who is *facile princeps* among contemporary students of the aurora, makes the interesting announcement that certain details of the display in question were found, by accurate photographic measurements, to extend to much greater heights than any phenomena ever previously observed in the earth's atmosphere.

Störmer's ingenious method of measuring the aurora by means of simultaneous photographs taken, under his direction, at several stations many miles apart, was described in the REVIEW OF REVIEWS for October, 1921, pp. 424–5. Seven stations took part in the observations of March, 1920. Some preliminary results of the measurements based on the large number of photographs taken

at these stations have been published from time to time, but the complete measurements have only lately been completed. The display was distinguished by remarkably long streamers and a great variety of colors.

Between 8 and 9 o'clock on the evening of March 22 photographs were taken of several streamers which (as determined by comparison of the photographs) were located over a zone extending from the Shetland Islands over Trondhjem, Norway, to Lulea, Sweden. These photographs, taken at widely separated places, give trustworthy measurements of the altitudes to which the streamers extended, and it appears that several were photographed up to heights ranging from 350 to 400 miles above the earth, while one reached the enormous altitude of more than 750 kilometers (say 470 miles). The significance of this statement will be apparent to the non-meteorological reader when it is explained that the heights clouds (the feathery ice clouds known as *cirrus*) rarely occur higher than 10 miles; that meteors are seen mainly between the

levels of 60 and 90 miles; and that a height of 300 miles (which was previously the "record" altitude of an auroral display) the atmosphere is computed to be only about one two-millionth as dense as at sea-level. Thus has science plumbed new depths in the ocean of air.

Another novel fact brought out in these observations helps to throw light upon the composition of the atmosphere at high levels. When the foot of a streamer was more than about 75 miles above the earth the brightness of the streamer was nearly uniform, except that it slowly diminished toward the summit. When, however, the foot extended down into the region between

60 and 75 miles, the lower part, lying within this region, was much brighter than the upper. This fact, Professor Störmer believes, is due to a rapid change in the composition of the atmosphere, between the levels in question, from a lower atmosphere consisting mainly of nitrogen to an upper one consisting chiefly of hydrogen and helium. A preponderance of light gases at great heights in the atmosphere is generally accepted by meteorologists of the present day, though there is still much uncertainty as to the identity of

these gases. It is a well-known fact that no two auroras are exactly alike, although several types have been recognized.



ONE OF STÖRMER'S PHOTOGRAPHS
OF AN AURORA

Behind the Scenes in Germany

IN THE *Round Table* (London) there appears a translation of a sketch of conditions in Germany, written by a German. The editor accepts no responsibility for the arguments and statements contained in this article. Some of the opinions expressed by the writer are at least of momentary interest to the outside world:

The ex-Kaiser has no friends anywhere in Germany. He earned the contempt of the army by his flight to Holland, and by marrying again so soon after the death of his wife he has now alienated the Monarchs. Their resentment is all the deeper because of the reverence and affection which everyone had for the late Empress. The Legitimist looks upon this second marriage as an act of rash folly, unpardonable in one who has worn the Imperial Crown, and the bad impression has been strengthened by the appearance of the ex-Kaiser's book. It shows a shallow, superficial, obstinate, disloyal and pettifogging mind, and it has incensed and shocked Monarchist opinion throughout Germany. One often, indeed, hears the opinion privately expressed that Kaiser Wilhelm II., by his want of balance and lack of judgment, has pulled down all that his grandfather and his father, with Bismarck's help, so laboriously built up.

With regard to our constitutional system, the Monarchist view is as follows: A republic or even a constitutional monarchy on the English pattern is all very well for states in the West of Europe, where the national foundation is simple; but countries like Germany, Russia and Austria are, or were before

the war, in a totally different position. For they were not national states at all, but states comprising different and conflicting nationalities. It was, they say, in the interest of these nationalities to have an autocratic form of government, since nobody but an autocrat could keep the peace between them. The flaw in this argument was exposed the other day. A statesman pointed out that it was the emperors themselves who were responsible for the fall of their dynasties. The triple combination of Nicholas, Wilhelm and Carl did what their three countries never could have done. Their dynasties fell because Nicholas was an idiot, Carl a weakling and Wilhelm a second "Playboy of the Western World." The three of them, by sheer incompetence, managed to bring home to the masses the absurdity of every form of autocratic government; in consequence, nations which would have felt more at home under the old monarchical system are settling down to their lot under a republic.

The article goes on to discuss the "Left" and "Right" extremists, with other matters pertinent, and expresses the view that Germany's real need is competent leaders, her greatest weakness the lack of them from which she has suffered ever since Bismarck's day.

Bismarck's work had its dark side, as the sun has its spots; but none of his successors in the Chancellorship has even remotely approached him in judgment or in the power of shaping policy to attain definite objects.

A French View of America's Attitude Toward Europe

BY far the most notable of recent French utterances on world-politics is the leading article in the *Correspondant* (Paris) for January 10, by M. Bernard Faÿ. It is a serious and sustained effort to interpret the spirit of the American people to the French. Through it all breathes a tragic seriousness, on the verge of despair, that should disarm any impulse toward resentment, though many features of his vivid portrayal are anything but flattering. Often it is mercilessly truthful, while occasionally the inaccuracy is amusing.

Since 1917 the United States have dominated the world. The Allies needed them to complete and win the war, accepted their ideas in formulating the treaty of peace, and now are seeking, with more zeal than success, their indispensable aid in order to avoid the collapse of our civilization, which is threatened by communism, universal bankruptcy, international wars, and moral downfall. Disarmament, the national debts, reparations, the League of Nations, Turkey's status, the recognition of Russia—not one of these problems, as is now clearly seen, can be disposed of unless the United States take a part in its solution, and that part must, apparently, be a predominant one.

That sincere keynote cannot but hurt terribly the patriotic pride of the writer, as well as of his national audience. The closing words of the article are yet tenser: "I have not forgotten our sufferings; I have not forgotten the dead, the havoc, the persecutions; but the perils of the morrow are not less great than those of yesterday. It is better to discuss than to endure them." France, he undoubtedly feels, has not deserved this bitter humiliation, nor we our proud elevation as "arbiters of the world's destiny"; but even such a situation must be frankly faced.

What dominates America is ignorance of Europe: not of what is happening there—as to that the newspapers inform them daily with abundant detail—but of what exists there. An American can hardly realize that Europe is no empty continent, new and plastic, like his own. He cannot comprehend that, in a space hardly greater than his Union of States, there are included five and more great original civilizations, over a score of separate nations, each conscious of its distinctive character. At his distance, all of that seems useless confusion and complication—if he is aware of it at all.

It is true that so sympathetic a student of world-woes, for instance, as John Finley, prophesied recently the "United States of

Europe" as confidently as one might advise a national coalition of the five little Spanish republics in Central America. That any such union of all Europe is in sight seems to the French writer too absurd to refute. To him, a mere roll-call of warring units is enough. "There are scores of plans offered us from America every month. However strange it may seem, on France, Belgium, Italy, Austria, Jugoslavia, Poland, Rumania, Greece, Czechoslovakia, and Germany, the mass of the American people pass judgment '*en bloc*.'"

It is confidently prophesied that France's opportunity will come along the general line of federation.

America's action to extricate us from our difficulties may come suddenly, but come it will. Some day she will do it, with all her heart, generously, as she went to war. That hour is approaching. . . .

An irresistible current carries the United States toward world-federation, as the logical result of their own federalism. It may tend either to a union of the Anglo-Saxon nations, which would assume world-leadership, or to a general association of all nations. In the former event, we, whatever we might do, would lose our rank as a great power. This, however, seems likely to founder on the question of leadership, which neither America nor England would yield to the other.

The second supposition is more probable and less disturbing, provided that we are prepared to play a fruitful rôle in that league, association or tribunal. If we balk, if we can conceive of nothing but the national form we have successfully held for fourteen centuries—then we are doomed to find nothing but losses and disappointments.

The proud head droops, in such bitterness of humiliation as Bavaria's in '70-'71; but it lays its destiny absolutely at our feet.

And that should enable the reader at least to keep his temper, even to accept many an unpalatable truth and humiliating lesson, as the writer tells his people, e. g., how our hasty, fickle, all-powerful public opinion is formed, and how it sweeps in feverish haste to complete fulfilment, subconsciously realizing that its own discordant, even contradictory elements, may at any moment disintegrate. Of our three longitudinal sections, the great Mississippi Valley must always outvote the extreme East and the Pacific Slope, if united and determined, as in the great revulsion of 1920. (The South is not mentioned at all—logically, no doubt, as its action in national

politics has been dictated for a generation, and may long be so controlled, by a party name, and is accepted unquestioningly in advance of each election by either or all parties, as changeless and certain.) But the Middle West, and therefore America as a whole, "maintains toward all Europe an attitude of contemptuous superiority based on self-satisfied ignorance."

More diverting, even amusing in its finale, is the analysis of our "classes." At the bottom are the non-whites, the recent immigrants, those who speak English ill or not at all, non-voters, or those voting in masses under duress, the toilers at degrading tasks—altogether twenty million strong.

Second, the great mass of the bourgeoisie, "from the factory workman up to Mr. Edison"—to whom not even the companionship of his beloved Henry Ford is conceded, on this lonely preëminence!

Finally, the apex is only "the world of the universities and their graduates, with all

their variations of fortune and of culture." One clear mark of distinction is that this class are masters and devotees of football, while from Mr. Edison downward baseball is all in all. But the master-stroke, which may be permitted to lighten our serious pondering of this revelatory international utterance, is the pointing out of the respective chieftains: "With Roosevelt, Wilson Taft, it was the highest class that governed with Harding it is the middle class; Borah has behind him the mass of the humblest, the discontented." The Idaho Senator at the head of a Falstaffian army of Negroes, Indians, Mongolians, newly-arrived immigrants, and the I. W. W. may well surprise even that supple-minded statesman himself! Yet it would not be easy to find an American so intimately acquainted with France as this writer shows himself to be with the United States, and every word of the long article deserves serious perusal, acceptance, or rebuttal.

Making the Best of the Boll Weevil

YEAT another scientific romance! For thirty years the story of the Mexican cotton boll weevil and its invasion of the southern United States has unfolded itself. The previous chapters, recorded from year to year in a wide range of literature, including, notably, the *Congressional Record*, were of intense and tragic interest; but the *dénouement*, now in progress, is vastly more striking. Mr. Harry A. Mount sets forth the latest installment of the story in the *Scientific American*. The two salient facts are these: First, the boll weevil has won its long battle with the planters and the scientific experts. It has annexed practically the whole of the cotton belt to its domain. Second, this outcome, far from being an unmitigated calamity, has turned out to be a blessing to the South!

Concerning the history of this famous pest the writer says:

The cotton boll weevil completed its conquest of the cotton belt in the United States in 1921. In that year 66,662 square miles of additional cotton territory was infested by the pest, and there remains uninfested only a little fringe of cotton-producing land, containing only scattered plantings and producing only 5.4 per cent. of our total cotton crop.

Furthermore, the boll weevil, over a total of more than 600,000 square miles of infested territory in this country, has been more active and more destruc-

tive in the past two years than at any period in the thirty years since the little beetle crossed the Rio Grande into Texas and began its steady, relentless conquest.

Entomologists and agriculturists who have been fighting the pest—all of these have given up hope that the boll weevil ever can be eliminated. Literally, the weevil has won its place in the sun and the pressing question no longer is, how we may be rid of it, but how can we get along with it?

In order to understand the nature of the situation which the boll weevil has brought about we ought to know some of the things which our scientists have learned about the bug in thirty years of study. It is not a native of the United States and had its first home probably in the plateau regions of Mexico or Central America. Before it appeared in the United States it had spread over much of Mexico.

In 1892 a small area of cotton fields in the neighborhood of Brownsville, Texas, was discovered to be infested with the weevils. Dr. L. O. Howard, now Chief of the United States Bureau of Entomology, who was then in the employ of the State of Texas, made an investigation and at once recognized the destructive possibilities of the insect. He prepared legislation which was introduced in the State Legislature providing for a quarantine of the infected area. The bill was laughed at and pigeonholed and the final chance of ever checking the boll weevil in the United States was lost.

The very next year the area infested was quadrupled and from that time until the present the area of destruction has been steadily extended, until now practically the whole cotton belt is infested.

The life history of the insect explains why it has proved an invincible foe. The

weevil is enormously prolific; the possible offspring from a single pair in the course of a season is estimated at 12,755,100, though fortunately Nature has provided various enemies, including other insects, heat and cold, which prevent such excessive multiplication. The great secret of the weevil's destructive power lies, however, in the fact that, after the eggs have been laid in the "squares" or young buds of the cotton plant, the latter heals over the wound by which its tissues were penetrated and the larva, after hatching, and while feeding voraciously on the tender leaves of the immature blooms, cannot be reached by poison.

Almost countless methods of control have been suggested and tried, but all except one have been discarded as useless. Dusting with powdered arsenate of lead after the "squares" have become about 10 per cent. infected effects sufficient control to more than pay for the cost—provided the yield of the field is naturally large. It is generally true that it no longer pays to raise cotton on land which normally produces less than a half bale of cotton per acre. Scientific methods of fertilization are, therefore, a first necessity.

The boll weevil's depredations have led to a situation that is as encouraging as it is paradoxical. Mr. Mount says:

What the South has lost through the boll weevil it has more than recovered by better farming methods. The fact that successful cotton-raising now requires intensive culture reduces the acreage required to produce a given amount of cotton. This has released land formerly used for cotton for other

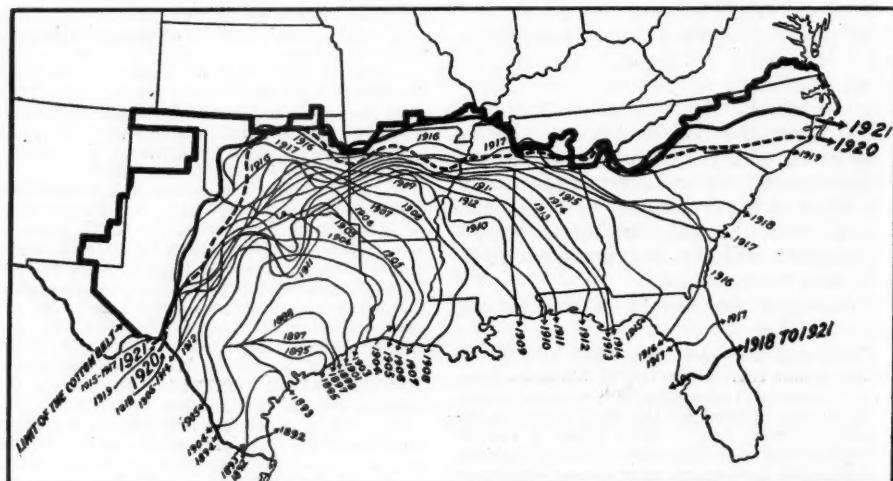
crops and in many cases has resulted into breaking up the large plantations into smaller farms. This turning to diversified farming, as against the old single-crop system, has secured for the South a degree of economic independence heretofore unknown. The average Southern family living on a farm in the "good old days" actually had to buy a great deal of the family food which could have been raised there, and nearly all of the food for horses and mules.

Unfortunately the South cannot compete with other sections in raising such staple crops as corn and wheat. But sweet potatoes and peanuts are typical Southern crops of growing importance, and rice culture is coming to be a great Southern industry. Besides this the growing of sugar cane is profitable in many sections and market gardening to supply both the cities of the South and the northern centers of population can be carried on practically the year round. Southern melons, fruits and berries are already famous in Northern markets.

Now the Southerners are telling one another that the boll weevil invasion was a blessing in disguise; and one Southern town has given expression to this belief by erecting a monument to the once objurgated.

Undoubtedly also the boll weevil has been instrumental in the great industrial progress of the South in the past few years. Negroes who have lived on small patches of land, producing little more than enough for their own sustenance, are moving to the cities and they make up the last great reservoir of cheap labor in this country.

All this may appear to be going rather far afield from the subject of the boll weevil, but it helps to explain how, in the face of what is considered by many the greatest calamity ever suffered by an agricultural section, the South is steadily meeting the world's demand for cotton and at the same time is consolidating her economic position.



MAP SHOWING DISPERSION OF THE COTTON BOLL WEEVIL IN THE UNITED STATES
(From its introduction from Mexico in 1892 to its final spread throughout the cotton States in 1921. The heavily shaded band represents the limit of cotton cultivation.)

A Revival of Archæological Research in Palestine

ALTHOUGH for the moment the sensational discoveries at Luxor have eclipsed all other events in the field of archæology, the business of unearthing antiquity has been going on apace in other parts of the world. Archæologists seem bent upon making up for the years lost during the world war, and the renewal of their activities on historic sites is daily yielding notable results. Not long ago we reviewed in this department the new methods of research in vogue at Pompeii. We are now enabled, through a series of articles published by Professor John Garstang, of Liverpool University, in the *Illustrated London News*, to summarize the principal investigations undertaken in the Holy Land since the war.

Professor Garstang, in addition to his academic duties at Liverpool, is director of the newly established British School of Archæology in Jerusalem and of the Department of Antiquities for Palestine. Both of these institutions are by-products of the British "mandate" in the Holy Land. We read:

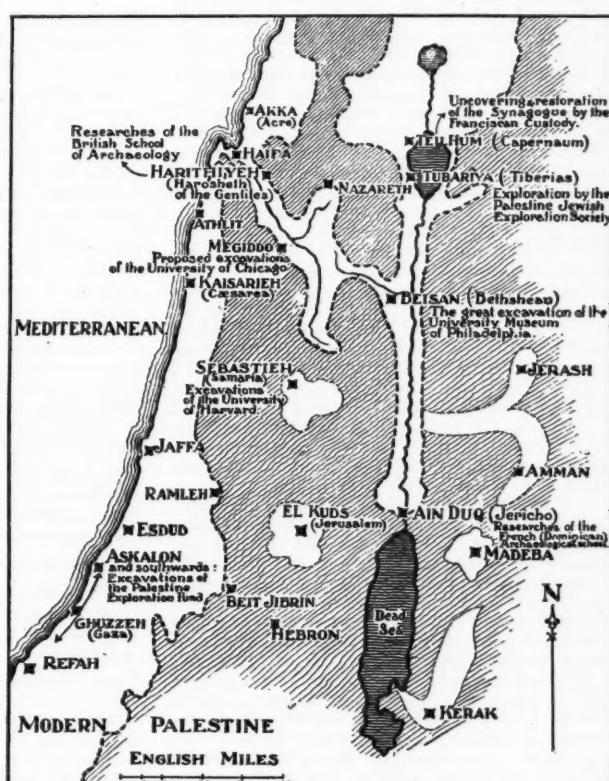
A British School of Archæology (analogous to the older-established institutions at Athens and at Rome) was founded in Jerusalem soon after the end of the war, to provide a home and center for research and advanced study. Its promotion was encouraged by Lord Allenby and Earl Curzon of Kedleston, and the Prince of Wales became its patron. Its promoters were zealous scientific men, members of the British Academy and of the Palestine Exploration Fund, inspired by the late Professor Leonard King, of the British Museum.

Then Sir Herbert Samuel, His Majesty's first High Commissioner for Palestine, encouraged, it is said, by the personal interest of his Majesty, created, as one of his first official acts, a Department of Antiquities for Palestine, charged with the protection of the historic monuments of the country, the arrangement of a national museum, and the organization

and control of excavations and research. The Government properly regards the administration of the antiquities of Palestine as a trust confided to it by the whole world; accordingly, an International Board, of which the Director of Antiquities is Chairman, advises the Department on all matters of public interest. This Board includes representatives of the different communities, and of the societies of foreign countries engaged in archæological research in Palestine.

The first fruits of this new endeavor are now becoming visible. Special monuments, like the great Crusaders' Fortresses of Acre and Athlit, the Roman City of Casarea, and the Philistine site of Ascalon, have been put under guardians, and museums are being organized, where all the local remains may be preserved and studied. A central museum has been established in Jerusalem, with a distinguished Oxford graduate as keeper, and already the framework of a representative collection is open to the public.

No less than eight well-equipped expedi-



SITES OF EXCAVATIONS IN THE HOLY LAND—EIGHT IN PROGRESS AND OTHERS PROJECTED

tions are engaged in excavations in various parts of Palestine or are planning to begin work in the immediate future. Concerning these enterprises we are told:

On the eastern side, in the Jordan Valley, at Ain Dug, near Jericho, the French Archaeological School (Ecole Biblique), conducted by the Dominican Fathers, has cleared and removed for protection portions of a mastic pavement of an ancient synagogue of the third century, decorated with colored designs of unusual characters, and particularly important for the ancient Hebrew inscription worked into the pavement. Hereabouts is the famous mound which marks the site of ancient Jericho. Considerable clearances were made here in the course of excavations made in other days, disclosing walls of undoubted antiquity, both those of houses and main walls of the city. But the historical interpretation of these researches is not complete. The excavation was not made with that due regard to minutiæ which modern science demands; and there lacked then, as now, a sufficient comparative material, properly collated and arranged, by which to deduce the full and logical results from the work done. Doubtless some learned society will come forward in the future to undertake the task.

Further north is Beisan, the "Key to Palestine," dominating the junction of the valley of Jezreel with that of Jordan. Here the University Museum of Philadelphia has commenced work on a well-conceived plan under the able direction of Dr. Fisher, backed up by resources proportionate to the undertaking, and rewarded at once by historical discoveries. Further west, in the plain of Esdraelon, is Megiddo, overlooking that most historic battlefield the memory of which survives in the suggestive word Armageddon (Har-Megiddon). Here the University of Chicago, at the instance of Professor Bresciani, will commence work in the autumn of this year. At the entrance to Esdraelon, the narrow neck leading from the plain of Acre, are Hari-thiyeh and Tell 'Amr, commonly identified with "Harosheth of the Gentiles," which looms large in the Song of Deborah as the advanced post of the Syrian league and the House of Sisera. It is here that the British School proposes to commence investigations in the coming spring. Samaria, crowning a hill in the heart of the hill country, has already been partly excavated, and in true scientific fashion, by the University of Harvard, under the leadership of Dr. Reisner; the same body has applied for a renewal of the concession, and new work there is to be anticipated.

The Palestine Exploration Fund has been engaged these two years on an extensive excavation at Ascalon, the ancient Philistine city; and this year that pioneer body will expand the area of its work and investigations to other Philistine sites in the vicinity, even as far as Gaza and southward, in order to obtain a proper and fuller interpretation from the historian's point of view of the very important evidence already recovered.

We may conclude this catalogue of the present sites of excavation by reference to two upon the shores of Lake Tiberias (the Sea of Galilee), the interest of which is more local and the work self-contained. Just south of the modern town of Tiberias the young Palestine Jewish Exploration Society has examined the ground bordering on the lake, recovering evidences of the period of the Talmud in traces of buildings, inscriptions, sar-

cophagi, and a profoundly interesting relic in stone reproducing crudely but in a well-defined manner the decoration of the sevenfold "candlestick" or Menorah, as described in the Book of Deuteronomy.

To most visitors to Palestine the work which has been proceeding for some years near the head of the lake at Tell Hum, under the control and direction of the Latin "Custody of the Holy Land" (ancient title descended from the Crusades), is that which appeals as of special interest and charm, alike from its character and associations as from the picturesque beauty of the scene and surroundings. For this is the site which corresponds most nearly to that of Capernaum, and here are the tumbled and ruined remains of an early synagogue elaborately conceived on a classical model. No one can help being reminded of a certain Centurion and the synagogue with which he had adorned and enriched the town. The ruins in this case, however, will be more aptly assigned to the second or third century.

In the successive articles of the series Professor Garstang gives copious details of the work carried on at these various sites and discusses the historical problems on which it is hoped to throw light. By way of postscript to our present summary we quote the account given of a recent undertaking in the Holy City itself which is of interest from the point of view of engineering as well as archaeology:

The famous reservoirs known as Solomon's Pools have been called upon again by the new régime to fulfil their original purpose of supplying water to Jerusalem. Two of them are already filled, and the third is filling for this purpose. The task of tracing and cleaning the old aqueducts, particularly those which supply water to the Pools, has been patiently and successfully carried out by the Department of Public Works, and has led to a series of discoveries in connection with them of great interest. The skill with which subterranean sources of water were tapped and with which the aqueducts were designed is worthy of admiration. The effect of refilling the Pools has been to restore their picturesque appearance. Pumping-stations are being built, care being taken to preserve the character of the site. A clever inscription, dedicated to the engines, is being set up to commemorate the new achievement; it reads as follows:

PRODIGIUM HEC OLIM BELLI IN DISCRIMINE FECIT
MACHINA QUÆ NILUM TRANSTULIT IN SYRIAM:
NUNC OPERE EXPLETO MUTATO MUNERE SANCTÆ
SERVIAT ATQUE URBI REDDAT AB IMBRE DECUS.

of which the following might be a free translation:

These wrought a marvel in the hour of Trial
And drew by Syria bounty from the Nile:
That labor o'er, be theirs the new emprise
To wrest for Zion beauty from the skies.

There is no evidence that these Pools are to be attributed to the enterprise of King Solomon, but it may be readily believed that they were designed and utilized in Roman times. The extension of Jerusalem towards the northwest, quitting its ancient sources of supply for the higher and waterless ground, would lead necessarily to the engineering of new supplies of water such as these reservoirs and their conduits indicate.

Emile Coué and the Nancy School of Suggestive Therapeutics

WHILE the disciples of Mrs. Eddy were increasing in America, an obscure pharmacist in Nancy, named Coué, was quietly noting her practical application of the auto-suggestion theories of his master, Liébault. M. Henri Piéron in *La Revue de France* of January 1 examines the scientific basis of this revival of miracle cures which has chosen Nancy and Coué as the pilgrim's shrine and oracle with the pilgrim's subconscious as the new divinity.

The celebrated Russian physiologist Pavlov defined very clearly in his study of the conditional reflexes of digestion a model of the mechanism of spontaneous or auto-suggestion. The sight of a luscious pear which has frequently excited the salivary reflex "makes our mouth water"; the sight of a sweet which has disagreed with us evokes nausea, and so forth. These are everyday examples of the law of association of the digestive nerves which applies to the functioning of the whole nervous system. If, then, in the moral sphere it is suggested to a person to perform a certain act at a given hour under certain circumstances, a conditional reflex will be created which will be carried out automatically without being exposed to the critical control of the intelligence—the principal factor of inhibition that must be erased or nullified in moral therapeutics.

The critical resistance of the patient's will must be decreased and lulled to sleep; docility must be suggested and the tendency to believe must be substituted for the critical faculty—a belief in the magic virtue of words repeated, in future happiness and health restored. To that powerful instrument called language Coué adds the scarcely less potent tool of sleep, in which imitation is always easier. The spirit of imitation commonly observed as strong in crowds and groups is also called into play when thirty patients are admitted to the clinic at once and put into a state of light hypnosis by the repetition of a formula in a monotonous tone of voice.

Piéron concludes that so far the therapeutics of the Nancy School are absolutely in accordance with the principles of the most progressive men of science. Sugges-

tion cures disease of suggestive origin and the nervous complications of organic disease. There is no doubt that a talented healer like Emile Coué improves the condition of the majority of his visitors. Louis Rénon observed in a large number of tubercular patients that about 70 per cent. of the patients were cured or at least improved for several weeks after every innovation in the treatment. The patient had the idea of improvement suggested to him by the doctor by means of a new medicine. Mathieu also reports a remarkable instance of improvement in a tubercular group after the injection of a cubic centimeter of salt water in series of five or six days each. But first Mathieu declared that he had discovered a new serum called antiphimosis with wonder-working curative properties. After several days, the appetite of the patients returned, the cough decreased and the weight increased from three to four and six pounds. All the symptoms reappeared after the injections were suspended.

Thus emotion is a double-bladed tool which both inflicts the wound and cleanses it. Used to encourage and comfort, it may exercise a real physical effect, accelerating the heart-beat, increasing oxydation, stimulating the secretions, and favoring leukocytosis. On the other hand, cold, shock and all factors tending to depression may favor the development of infectious diseases, upset the harmony of the glands of secretion and abolish at once the individual's physical and mental health.

Such, according to M. Piéron, are the keys to the mystery of the success of Christian Science and Couéism. Neuropaths, refractory patients with incurable diseases, and the superstitious who distrust doctors are all unquestionably benefited.

But, M. Piéron protests, if these new oracles divert from medical treatment those patients with organic disease who can still be helped, they become a public danger. The physician himself must practise suggestive therapeutics, and he alone, because he knows how to distinguish between nervous symptoms and the symptoms of organic lesions or disorders of function calling for special treatment.

England and the New Egypt

THE relations of the newly-founded Egyptian Kingdom with its English sponsor is the subject chosen by Gioacchino Volpe for a paper in *Politica* (Rome). The Italian writer finds that at present England still places notable restrictions on the freedom of the press, of public meetings, and of residence, and he asks how long those conditions are likely to prevail. His answer is that they will last until England has been able to systematize her situation toward the Orient, and toward North Africa, so that she can abandon Egypt without injury.

Meanwhile the English are trying to put Palestine in order, so that it may help to watch over Egypt and the Suez Canal in the East, for it is a highroad toward Mesopotamia and beyond, and is also of unequalled importance as a Mohammedan, Catholic and Jewish center. The annexation of Cyprus in 1914 already emphasized the designs of England regarding Palestine, as to which she reserved for her Indians and Australians, together with a decorative group of Italian Bersaglieri, the enterprise of conquering the Turks. Now, the Italian writer believes she is working to consolidate the eastern coast of the Red Sea, fronting Egypt and Erythrea, where already in 1916 she had aimed to increase her influence by the substitution of an Arabic Sultan, the Sherif of Mecca, of the very tribe from which Mohammed sprang, for the Turkish Sultan of Constantinople, with the proclamation of the independence of the greater part of Arabia.

At the same time England takes great pains to attach to herself the desert tribes to the east and west of Egypt, organizing services of medical aid, and improving the means of communication, and she treats with the various interested powers for the recognition of her right to protect the foreign communities in Egypt, that is to say, to turn the system of capitulations to her advantage as sole protectress. Besides this guardianship over foreigners, England will probably seek to make herself the advocate of the religious and ethnic minorities in Egypt, and also to gain the sympathies of the fellahs. It is undeniable that, on the whole, the Egyptian peasants have benefited notably by English rule. The great public works which have fostered agriculture

have helped them much, and the restraints imposed upon the landed aristocracy have checked the traditional exploitation of the peasants.

At present the problem of the Sudan is a troublesome one. It has been an Anglo-Egyptian condominium—a state of things established in 1899 at the time that Khartoum was taken and the Mahdi overcome. Now, with the independence of Egypt, this condominium must be dissolved. However, in the past twenty years England has taken deep root in the land and expects considerable economic and political advantages from it. A large amount of English capital has been invested there, and England has no idea of renouncing her direct control. Moreover, there is in course of construction a great dam across the Blue Nile, which will make it possible to irrigate an extensive region and to make it intensively productive. The Sudan offers, through Port Sudan on the Red Sea, an exclusively English, and therefore a perfectly safe outlet for commerce with Equatorial Africa. There are also excellent prospects, already in course of realization, that it can supply English industry with the cotton the English have heretofore bought in Egypt, and perhaps might no longer be able to buy. This Sudanese cotton is of the famous "long staple" type that has made Egyptian cotton so highly valued.

The Egyptians, on their part, claim that the Sudan was reconquered at the price of their blood, and they do not wish to have at their doors a competitor in the production of cotton. Also they do not want to have the commercial route to Equatorial Africa deflected from the Nile Valley toward Port Sudan, and more especially they stand up in defence of their river Nile throughout its entire extent, from its source to its mouth. For them the Nile is a unity, just, they say, as is the Seine, the Thames, or the Mississippi. The Sudan is the life or death of Egypt. To separate it from Egypt would be to set one against the other two peoples bound together by immemorable ties of blood, religion and interest.

American competition in cotton is already a menace and a stimulus for Egypt, and to combat the cotton crisis it has been proposed by some that the Government

should intervene by buying up the product especially in order to aid the smaller producers who need to realize on their cotton and are the most threatened by speculation. It has even been advocated that there

should be organized among the planters a coöperative body on the lines of the American Cotton Association, which would establish for them the needed special banks and credit facilities.

H. C. of L. in Japan

THE Far East is still regarded by many as a possible place of refuge from "the high cost of living." Japan, however, is rightly pointed to as a remarkable, perhaps unique, example of rapid acquisition, from folk of alien race and religions, of the chief elements in a more advanced civilization. It is not surprising to hear, therefore, that she is also suffering in many ways from the diseases of that alien culture, including trusts, labor troubles—and high prices. In the *Saturday Evening Post* (Philadelphia), for January 13, Mr. Isaac F. Marcosson gives many recent facts and figures which illuminate this subject. The Japanese units of coinage, yen and sen, are figured at just about half the value of our dollar and cent, respectively. The easiest basis of comparison is between 1914 and 1920.

The minimum wage of the women who perform such heavy tasks as pile-driving and coaling vessels has risen in that period from 28 to 75 sen per day. A land where a plasterer can still be hired for \$1 and even a bricklayer for \$1.15 per working day, may still seem a paradise to our harassed builders or sufferers from housing conditions. But in 1921 these and the carpenters were reaching a 5-yen level: in February, when the Peace Exposition buildings were seriously behind the time-schedule, men were readily offered that unheard of figure, but "not one of them would drive a nail until he had been given a guaranty of 10 yen a day," clearly indicating that "the little Nipponese had got wise to the ways of his Western colleague."

As with us, the inflated wages did not always represent a real improvement of his condition. Rice, the one indispensable food at every meal, alone and as garnishing of fish, meat or vegetables, was "cornered" in 1919, and pushed up from the normal \$1 or \$1.30 per bushel to \$6. A crop one-third below normal in 1921 even brought in imported rice, detestable to the native palate.

More alarming for the pretentious American tourist is the hard case of the "well-known banker, who, this last summer, ar-

ranged the favorite cabaret type of entertainment for five guests, with the usual bevy of geisha girls, etc., and the national menu, to find that the bill, which in 1914 would not have exceeded \$70, was now \$400. This extortion is laid at the door of a ring of 'promoters,' who have signed up practically all these elaborately trained little professional entertainers on four-or-five-year contracts."

Suzuki and his "Workers' Friendly Society" emulate Mr. Gompers' mighty combination, and agitation, strikes, riots, are methods of advancement easily acquired. Even such an act as the murder of Premier Hara is regarded as a fanatic's protest against the "wrongs of the proletariat." Covert loafing at the bench is reduced to a fine art, so as practically to stop production, while still drawing pay and avoiding any violence that might cause arrest. Even the tenants of the little two-acre farms are creating a union and a newspaper organ for their own betterment. The introduction of the taxicab or auto-truck in Tokio itself is literally fought with stones by the myriads of jinricksha and hand-cart men, who foresee idleness and starvation in such an invasion. A system like that of the Italian *padroni* creates large, unified gangs of floating laborers, often available as strikebreakers, which has led already to actual warfare.

The writer gives many other illuminating glimpses into the present industrial, economic and social conditions in Nippon, leading up to his optimistic conclusion, that England, Germany and the United States have no need to fear serious competition from that quarter in any of the great world-markets outside the Far East itself.

It is a noteworthy remark that the prices in first-class hotels in Japan are higher than in the chief European capitals. Much interesting detail is also given as to present conditions in China, where the cost of living is still phenomenally low; but the attention either of statesman or traveler seems just now to be little drawn to that distracted country.

How Sweden Trains Vocational Teachers for Her Schools

THE present-day vogue of vocational education has given rise to new problems, which have been variously solved in different parts of the world. In *School Life* (Washington, D. C.), Mr. P. H. Pearson tells of the system of practical schools recently established in Sweden and how the Swedish authorities have set about to provide suitable teachers for these schools. The schools in question were created in the year 1918, under a law which provides for part-time attendance by young wage-earners.

The Swedish boy or girl who has left school before reaching the age of 18 will, after 1924, be required to attend a continuation school for a minimum of 360 hours above and beyond the obligatory elementary period. After having completed the 360 hours, he may, according to the arrangements of the community in which he lives, be compelled to attend a local apprentice school for training in some craft of special importance in the local area.

Under this law a complex system of crafts schools is growing up in Sweden. Fundamentally, each apprentice and crafts school must make the regional industry of its area the core and center of its instruction. About this nucleus related and general subjects are to be grouped. Hence study programs and organization as varied as Sweden's varied areas require. To meet these requirements the education authorities have prepared a dozen or more type programs, which, with only slight alterations, are expected to be adapted to local needs. These type programs center on such industries as agriculture, shipbuilding, the carpenter's trade, the fishing industry, metal working, engineering, home economics, and courses where older artisans may receive instruction in the latest developments in their respective trades. In the household course for girls a single-type program is expected to be suitable to different regional needs without much change.

But another problem which cannot be solved in an educational office confronts the organizers. The crafts schools require a new class of teachers with skill of hand, and an outlook and bent of mind that they do not acquire in any existing teacher-training institution. An official committee reporting on these matters showed that such teachers could not be recruited from any present class. About 40 per cent. of those teaching in the present technical school were folk-school teachers, with little or no experience in the practice of an artisan's calling. Graduates from the higher technical institutions had studied the industrial lines from the side of theory and art, especially in manual work and sloyd, and were inclined to thrust irrelevant and impractical matters into the instruction. Again, persons engaged in industrial occupations and trades constituted 25 per cent. of the teachers in the lower technical and trade schools. The experience with this class is that, while they have the necessary

technical skill, they usually lack the educational insight necessary to judge the personal needs of a pupil.

Right here Sweden's experience differs from that of France. In the latter country a carpenter or a blacksmith has charge of the elementary instruction during the hours scheduled for his trade, if the school is to be sufficient in itself, the authorities hold, and its instruction separate and detached from the environs, workmen are out of place in the school workshop. But if the school is to prepare pupils for life's practical duties and foster respect for and interest in physical labor, no better can be done than to have the pupils instructed by real workmen in the use of actual and ordinary tools. A manual-training teacher steeped in the school courses does not handle the tools in the convincing way that the workman does. All the normal colleges of France give courses in work instruction, and the class teacher is therefore fairly capable in the management of school assignments of this kind. But the workman is preferred, not only on account of a different knack with the tools, but chiefly to help the pupils in the transition from school to life. By studying with him in the schoolroom, the pupils receive a foretaste of the apprentice arrangement, so that he may better find his bearings later. This is the French view.

Though realizing the importance of the actual "touch with things" embodied in the workman teacher, the Swedish committee held that the larger outlook was also necessary. They felt, moreover, that the comprehensive system of practical schools now being established should have a center and rallying point in a central institution from which details of the new organization could be surveyed and where teachers could live themselves into the spirit of the new departure unhampered by either local pressure or by traditions.

Accordingly the government has lately established at Stockholm a Central Institution for Vocational Teachers, which, says Mr. Pearson, "embodies the tested points of advancement now reached in Europe" in this department of education. This school does much more than train teachers. It is the focus of the whole system of vocational education. Thus it provides textbooks, devises instruction material and equipment, prepares models, and drawings, and maintains an information bureau for the benefit of teachers and local educational authorities throughout the country.

The difficulty in assembling in one institution the equipment and material for the work of training came in sight early. At first it appeared that teachers in agriculture, shipbuilding, etc., would of necessity have to receive their practical training at places where these industries were carried on. A tentative arrangement was made fully open to such

alterations as later should seem wise, namely, to affiliate with the Central Institution at Stockholm, apprentice schools and crafts schools in Stockholm and elsewhere, which would furnish material for the practical work of the courses. The teaching staff and facilities of those institutions, as well as industrial plants, are to be utilized when expedient.

A report at hand covers the work of the institution during the year of its organization, 1921. Four groups of teacher-training courses of a continuation character were given. Group I, for teachers of apprentice and crafts schools, comprised subjects such as labor legislation, vocational hygiene and

sanitation, patent regulations, and some 15 other topics. Group II, training of teachers of furniture making—machines, tools, material. Group III, for teachers of commerce—bookkeeping, national economy, and commercial law. Group IV, instructed teachers of home economics—sewing, the use of tools, drawing of patterns, material, vocational hygiene, and vocational economics. Two groups of courses in educational science were given. The lecture series dealt with educational psychology, history of education, survey of teaching practice, lessons and exercises, illustrative lessons, methods and practices of certain schools.

The Burial of the Plants

IN the vegetable as well as in the animal kingdom there is an endless procession of individuals, the old making way for the young, the dead yielding up their elements for the use of the living. Most of us know, without being quite clear as to the modus operandi of the process, that in the woods the dead vegetation is gradually changed into humus. This is described clearly and entertainingly in a late number of *Reclams Universum* (Leipsic) by R. H. Francé:

In reality plants must be "buried," as well as persons. In wood and in meadow room must be made for the living. . . . This is accomplished by a group of organisms which are among the most important of all creatures, though they are but little regarded and to most people are quite unknown.

The autumn wanderer in the woods, whose foot sinks deep amid the rustling leaves, takes no thought of the fact that only a few inches beneath his footprint there is flourishing a whole winter garden of wondrous plants. To begin with there are snow-white meadows of exquisite freshness and purity with thickly interwoven leaves. Others of these thread-like fabrics are brilliant gray and beneath there are found dark carpets ranging from a splendid mahogany brown to a midnight black. These are the earth fungi which derive their sustenance from the juices of the leaves which they gradually dissolve. Their underground kingdom is illuminated by a soft twilight glow, a true phosphorescence, proceeding from the light bacteria which are regular inhabitants of the deeper layers of the soil of the forest. These obviously produce light to no special purpose; it is merely the result of the extremely vigorous oxidation which is induced by these tiny dissolution fungi. This is the cause likewise of the increase of warmth—sometimes very considerable—which we always find in decaying leaves.

Similar organisms are found in meadows and marshes, as well as in the forest, but here we have another order of the "decomposition plants," a group which in the woods occupies itself more with dry branches and fallen bark. If we pick up a moldering leaf on any of these damp winter days we may observe a delicate network of

dark threads and tiny black nodules, which if examined under a microscope resolve themselves into the most tender and delicate forms. All these are known in general as the lower fungi and include the Nectria, the Sphaeria, the Phoma, and the Cladosporium. While these are among the best-known there are more than a hundred thousand different kinds of the lower fungi, all of which are decomposition plants. Our author says:

Incredible as it may seem, it is nevertheless a fact that only in very recent times have we come fully to understand even the least of these fungi of decay. It is scarcely possible to describe their life process, so manifold and so intricate it is. A good deal of what we commonly call fungus formation, while belonging in this category, actually consists merely of an adaptation to certain life conditions. From the fungus stage there develop the so-called fungus fruits. These produce spores which propagate themselves after the manner of the yeast fungi and in damper weather again lead to the formation of fungi.

And all of this is so beautiful and so multifold: shimmering as with dew, gleaming as with crystals, delicately tinted, now with pale yellow or blue and now with darker tones. Here hang lilac festoons or strings of beads; here a group of threads unites into a charming fan; others form urns and beakers, while in still others the threads are rolled into a fantastic ornament having about it a touch of the rococo. Again we find them twisting and weaving themselves into carpets and tapestries . . . or strung in garlands. The art of expression fails and the dictionary is exhausted when we try to describe their manifold variety.

But beauty is only a human manner of seeing things. The true significance of these multifarious forms is still hidden from us, our knowledge of them still stands upon the very threshold and we can only surmise that in this hidden realm of nature there lies material to occupy many generations of searchers and savants. . . . The beautiful, warm, fruitful earth beneath our feet would be unable to constantly renew its freshness and fertility were it not for the fungi of decay. And since the life of mankind is dependent upon the fertility of the earth, we may say that man himself could not survive without them—they are a necessary condition of his existence.

News from Nature's World

Nature is Waking Up

IT has been remarked quite wisely that I though, "in the library, in the office of the business man, and on the list of the society woman the year may begin on the first of January, the real year, God's year, Nature's year begins for those of us who live on this belt of the earth when the sun crosses the equator." Perhaps on the first of March the weather will not be just what it is supposed to be on the first day of spring; but the world will know, none the less, that spring has begun, and is, at worst, only a little delayed.

Among the earliest announcements will be those of the spring birds, the returned wayfarers, some of which are mentioned explicitly in another column of this little department. The song sparrows, who have lurked timidly in the thickets, and haven't really tried their voices since last autumn, will speak up; and so will the meadow-larks, who like the trees more than the bare meadows at this season. The skunk-cabbage probably will be seen actually forcing the ice aside in the marshes.

A rather severe critic speaks of the calla, the jack-in-the-pulpit and the skunk-cabbage (all close relatives, likely to appear about now) as the aristocrat, the hypocrite and the prodigal son. Of these, the despised skunk-cabbage is the most useful, anyhow; for it does much to delay the current of the streams, thereby collecting the floating vegetation, which will be so valuable to the other plants. Even the queer little mole, with no eyes nor external ears, to speak of, and with his arms akimbo, like a washerwoman, is likely to wake up, and make his bow, during the month.

How to Attract Birds

Evidently Uncle Sam was never in better humor than he was when he planned the series of little brochures on "How to Attract Birds," and put the naturalists of the Biological Survey at work on the job. They have done their task in the usual workmanlike manner, and the result is a series of pamphlets, covering practically the entire country, and referring expressly to the east Central States, the Middle Atlantic States, the Northwestern States, and the Northeastern States, as well as

separate pamphlets on "Community Bird Refuges," and one on "Bird Houses and How to Build Them," also by an expert (Ned Dearborn), with working drawings. These pamphlets are available, free of charge, from the Department of Agriculture, together with much other informing and useful printed matter.

Attention is directed to this matter at this time because March and April will witness the return from their southern wintering resorts of most of the migratory birds, and many of them are quick to take possession of suitable homes which they find awaiting them, to the mutual advantage of both the tenants and their hosts.

Why Does the Sap Rise?

Of the many upward movements in the spring, few are so mysterious and so little comprehended as that of the sap, forcing its way through the tiny rootlets to the top of the tallest trees. Why does it rise, with no known power compelling it, against the well-known natural powers of gravity, the resistance of friction and so on? A master mind must answer this question, but meanwhile we may offer a few suggestions.

"Capillary attraction" is the physical term most commonly employed to account for this natural phenomenon, but it does not answer several questions which might occur to an inquiring and intelligent mind. The original impulse undoubtedly comes from the rootlets of the trees through whose trunks and branches the sap ascends. The rootlets absorb from the earth moisture, much as blotting paper absorbs ink. The extremities of the branches give off their fluids by evaporation and the sap, relieved of this pressure, flows upward into them. With the sap, in the branches are introduced small bubbles. Thus is made what the physicist knows as a "Jamin chain"—of bubbles and water. When the air currents move the trees, the little tubes (bearing the water and air) are flattened, and their contents are driven out—upward and downward. As the tree regains its upright position, the tubes fill from below, and the upward flow, (of the sap) is resumed.

For reasons which may occur to everybody, this may seem a lame explanation, though it appears to be a valid one, as far

as it goes; and it lends an added significance to the incessant movement of the trees, which, perhaps, is thus serving a definite purpose.

The Fern's Queer Paternity

One of the most interesting forms of life, during the winter months, is the common winter fern, which keeps green and well through the stormiest weather. Unlike most plants, it has no true blossom, and is of rather queer origin. When it is mature, there appear upon it (generally on the under side of the fronds) small, brown spots, from which a dust-like material is dropped—sometimes thrown for a short distance. These spots are made up of minute grains, which answer the purposes of seeds. They are called spores, and they differ from true seeds, because they do not produce a plant presenting the characteristics of both parents, but a small heart-shaped shield (like a liver-wort) which contains only the qualities of the spores. By the crossing of two of these shields, a new fern is produced. These shields are the nearest approach to fern flowers.

A Northern California Record

J. Grinnell, of the Museum of Vertebrate Zoölogy, University of California, reports (the *Condor*, Nov.-Dec., 1922) a surprisingly "far north" record of the gray vireo, which he saw in Kern county, California. The normal range of the bird, as reported by Robert Ridgway, ("Birds of North and Middle America," part iii, p. 202), is "San Bernardino, Riverside, and San Diego counties, southern Nevada (Grapevine Mountains), Arizona and New Mexico to western Texas; southward to northwestern Mexico, and to Cape district of Lower California." The extremity of southern Nevada is a trifle further north than Riverside, but Kern county seems all to be north of that latitude. So this well may be a "northern record"—for the far southwestern region, at least.

The expressly interesting matter about this rather fine point is reflected in an article on the remarkable bird-banding movement to be reported in an early number of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS, since it will describe the process by which the killing of song birds will, within a few years, have become unnecessary. The trapping records, all of which should be carefully and systematically filed, should answer all such "record"

questions. As to the particular point in this case, Mr. Grinnell reports in part as follows to the *Condor* in the article to which we have already referred:

While on a short collecting trip . . . I spent the afternoon of July 25, 1922 . . . in northeastern Kern County, California. . . . The feature of the occasion was my meeting with an adult pair of Gray Vireos (*Vireo vicinior*). . . . This male gray vireo was promptly shot. . . . It is now catalogued as No. 43299 of the bird collection of the California Museum of Vertebrate Zoölogy. . . . As for field characters, besides the general deliberateness of movement, the thick, dark-colored bill were well seen; the gray tone of color both above and below was noticeable. . . . This Walker pass record is the northernmost in California so far as known for the species. . . .

But not for nearby Nevada, according to Dr. Ridgway, as above quoted. Mr. Grinnell himself remarks that he is "tempted to believe that the species will be found widely, though not abundantly, represented there, by someone seeking it in May or June, who is familiar with its song and habitat predilections."

"Signals" from the Meadowlark

In March (or April) the common meadowlark reveals a trick, which—intentionally or otherwise—is best seen at that season of the year. Many of these birds remain in the North throughout the winter months, and linger in the fields. In the early spring months, these fields are still brown in color, blending closely with the meadowlark's prevailing hue, when seen on the ground. When the bird takes wing, however, she immediately spreads her tail, slightly, and sails (or flutters) away, opening and shutting her tail, until she alights on a fence rail or in a tree, invariably giving that tail a final flirt. The opening and closing operations disclose two pure white feathers, which are plainly revealed against the brown background of the field over which the bird soars. A certain school of ornithologists holds that this tail-flirting is a deliberate signal of the bird to its young, who may be following—on the ground,—or to its mate. The more reasonable (if less poetic) explanation is that it is merely a muscular reflex, of which the bird is unconscious. But, at any rate, it serves the purposes of a signal,—as does the flashing of the conspicuous white "flag" (tail) of a retreating deer, which, as a matter of fact, has been the death of many a flying animal, who might not have been seen but for this supposed "signal."

THE NEW BOOKS

History and Description

Sir Douglas Haig's Command: December 19, 1915, to November 11, 1918. By George A. B. Dewar, Assisted by Lieut.-Col. J. H. Boraston. Houghton Mifflin Company. Volume I : 414 pp. With maps. Volume II : 375 pp. With maps.

For the last three years of the war Sir Douglas Haig led the British troops on the Western Front. His period of command outlasted that of any of the other leaders of great armies on the side of the Allies. During most of that time a British journalist, Mr. George A. B. Dewar, formerly editor of the *Saturday Review*, was in close touch with British headquarters. In these volumes he gives a rapid narration of the developments on the Western Front during the three years, 1916-1918, from the viewpoint of the British Commander-in-Chief. Inevitably, certain statements in this narrative run counter to the history of the war as commonly accepted by the British public and by observers of other nationalities. Like all other accounts of military movements, this work is to be taken as authoritative so far as its positions are sustained by documentary proof, and for the final decision of controverted questions we can only wait for fuller enlightenment from many sources. As a clear and unequivocal statement of Sir Douglas Haig's case, the book has a certain intrinsic value, which cannot be entirely overcome by later revelations.

The Story of the British Navy. By Harold F. B. Wheeler. Robert M. McBride & Company. 383 pp. Ill.

Loyal Britons never tire of extolling the glories of their fleet, and indeed its achievements are well worth relating. The merit of this latest addition to the long list of British naval histories is the fact that it includes a vivid record of naval performances during the Great War. Its chapter on "War in the Underseas" is a novel feature for books of this category.

Louis Napoleon and The Recovery of France: 1848-1856. By F. A. Simpson. Longmans, Green and Company. 396 pp. Ill.

The author of this volume is an English historian who has been engaged for many years in studying the life and times of "Napoleon the Little." The present work covers less than a decade of French history in the mid-Nineteenth Century, but in that brief period occurred the rise and fall of the Second Republic, the Roman expedition, and the Crimean War. The author's treatment of these events is based entirely on original materials, many of which have never before been available for publication. Mr. Simpson is a painstaking historical student, and at the same time a really brilliant writer.

Non-Violent Coercion. By Clarence Marsh Case. The Century Company. 423 pp.

We are indebted to Dr. Case, of the State University of Iowa, for an authoritative study of the doctrine of non-coöperative resistance. This subject has in recent years been brought vividly to our attention by the attitude of conscientious objectors during the war and by the extraordinary movement of Gandhi in India and still more recently by events in the Ruhr. Dr. Case has attempted to give the whole history of organized or standardized resistance by means other than material force—by the boycott, by non-participation, by passive resistance. He shows how the idea appeared at a very early date in China, and centuries later had a rerudescence in the thinking of Tolstoy. Its possibilities are appealing to-day to many minds here and abroad.

The United States: From the Discovery of the American Continent to the End of the World War. By William Henry Hudson and Irwin S. Guernsey. Frederick A. Stokes Company. 632 pp. Illustrated.

In the "Great Nations Series" the entire history of the United States, from the discovery of the American Continent to the end of the World War, is dealt with in a substantial volume of 600 pages. This is neither a political nor a military history exclusively, but treats more fully of the economic and social aspects of our growth as a nation than most single-volume histories have heretofore done. In other words, it is a study of human life on the North American Continent.

The Western Question in Greece and Turkey. By Arnold J. Toynbee. Houghton Mifflin Company. 420 pp. With map.

An account of recent developments in the complicated Near Eastern situation by an English scholar who has had unusual opportunities to get the facts. He writes not as a partisan, but as a disinterested observer trying to learn what has happened and why.

The History of Woman Suffrage. Edited by Ida Husted Harper. National American Woman Suffrage Association. Volume V: 1900-1920. 817 pp. Ill. Volume VI: 1900-1920. 899 pp. Ill.

The official history of the American movement for woman suffrage, extending over a period of more than seventy years, is completed with the publication of these two volumes. The first three volumes of this series were prepared by Miss Susan B. Anthony and Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, more than forty years ago. Miss Anthony and Mrs. Harper wrote the fourth volume, which carried the

story down to 1900. In Volumes V and VI Mrs. Harper completes the record to the year 1920, when the suffrage amendment to the Federal Constitution was adopted. For fifty years, from its inception in 1869, the National American Woman Suffrage Association was the most active organization working for woman suffrage. There were, however, other associations working for the same end, and their activities are fully described in these volumes. A chapter is devoted also to the National League of Woman Voters, into which the various suffrage societies were merged after the

franchise was obtained. There is also an account of the British movement for woman suffrage.

The New Argentina. By W. H. Koebel. Dodd, Mead and Company. 276 pp. Ill.

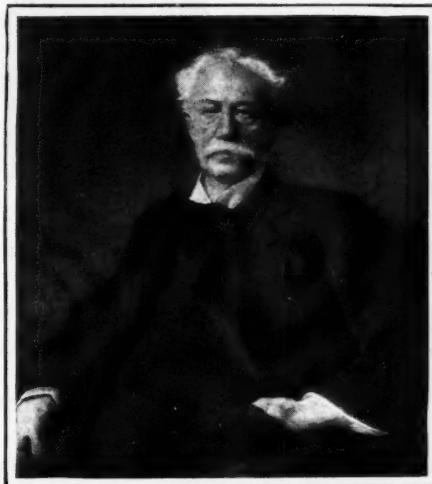
An up-to-date survey of the resources and possibilities of the greatest of the Spanish-speaking republics in South America. We North Americans need to be told now and then that the countries north of Panama have no monopoly of modern progress. As this book clearly shows, Argentina is easily holding her own in modernity.

Autobiography and Memoirs

The Days of a Man. By David Starr Jordan. Yonkers-on-Hudson: World Book Company. Vol. I: 1851-1899. 710 pp. Ill. Volume II: 1900-1921. 906 pp. Ill.

For more than fifty years Dr. Jordan has led not only an extremely useful and busy life, but a life unusually rich and successful in its friendships and opportunities for influence. In the sub-title that he has given to his autobiography he characterizes the contents as "Memories of a Naturalist, Teacher and Minor Prophet of Democracy." He says that he has followed his two-fold career of naturalist and teacher for the love of it, and has assumed the character of a minor prophet of democracy from a sense of duty. At any rate, these distinct and parallel careers have brought him into hundreds of intimate relationships, of which these portly volumes tell the story. Long before Dr. Jordan had become first president of Leland Stanford University (the personal choice of Mr. and Mrs. Stanford), he had been an enthusiastic and well-trained naturalist. The first part of his memoirs is largely given over to accounts of his zoological researches and expeditions. All of this is related in a most charming and entertaining fashion. Few scientific men, in America at least, have Dr. Jordan's gift of easy narrative. In all that he writes there is movement, as well as lucidity of expression. He is never tedious. Dr. Jordan also has much to tell about university development in America, from the period of the early seventies to the present. He was one of the early graduates of Cornell, and long held a professorship at the University of Indiana, of which he became president in 1884. It was his success in that institution which indirectly brought about his call to organize the new university at Palo Alto, California, in 1891. In the first volume of "The Days of a Man" he gives a full account of Stanford University's beginnings and of the stress and difficulties of the pioneer period in its history. Dr. Jordan retired from the presidency in 1913, and is now chancellor emeritus. For the past ten years he has been greatly interested in efforts to accomplish world peace, and his second volume contains what is essentially a history of the American movement to that end. The spirit of Dr. Jordan's memoirs is most accurately expressed by the lines printed on the title page:

"Jungle and town and reef and sea,
I have loved God's earth and God's earth loved me,
Take it for all in all!"



DR. DAVID STARR JORDAN

(From portrait by E. Spencer Macky, reproduced as the frontispiece of the second volume of "The Days of a Man")

Memories of Travel. By Viscount Bryce. Macmillan. 300 pp.

The late Lord Bryce was not merely a profound student of government and of international relations. He was one of the greatest travelers of his generation. There were few important regions of the world which he had not at one time or another visited during his long life. He was a lover of nature, with remarkably well-developed powers of observation. In this volume are accounts of journeys that he made over a period of sixty years, including visits to Iceland in 1872, to the mountains of Poland and of Hungary in 1878, to the Southern Pacific Islands in 1912, to the Altai Mountains the next year, and to Palestine in 1914. The most recently written chapter of the book is that devoted to the scenery of North America, dated 1921. Here the author sketches briefly and simply the broad characteristics of American scenery, dwelling especially on mountain beauty and mountain grandeur.

Man and Nature

Trees as Good Citizens. By Charles Lathrop Pack. Washington, D. C.: The American Tree Association. 257 pp. Illustrated.

Mr. Pack has been active for many years in promoting scientific forestry in this country and encouraging tree conservation, in city and country. In this volume he gives descriptions of many varieties of shade trees offers practical suggestions as to the selection of trees for planting, and includes a special chapter on memorial trees. There are also full directions regarding the care of shade trees. The volume has many interesting illustrations, including sixteen color plates of great beauty.

The School Book of Forestry. By Charles Lathrop Pack. Washington, D. C.: The American Tree Association. 159 pp. Ill.

In this little book Mr. Pack clearly states the ground principles of an intelligent forestry system. He does this by setting forth the facts that have



MR. C. L. PACK

actually come within the experience and observation of most Americans who have traveled over any considerable part of their country. The volume might well be adopted as a text-book in schools and colleges where elementary forestry is taught.

The Importance of Bird Life. By G. Innes Hartley. The Century Company. 316 pp. Ill.

In proportion as we have valued the plumage and song qualities of certain species of birds we seem to have undervalued or practically ignored the economic value of many of the more common species. This book gives an excellent account of some of the more important ways in which bird life ministers to human life, and explains the true place of birds in the economy of nature. The farmer himself has generally failed to appreciate the great saving made by birds in consuming field mice and grasshoppers, for example. Mr. Hartley makes a strong argument for bird conservation.

Denizens of the Desert. By Edmund C. Jaeger. Houghton Mifflin Company. 299 pp. Ill.

Mr. Jaeger, who is a biologist living at Riverside, California, is thoroughly familiar with the wild life of the Southwestern deserts. In this volume he gives entertaining accounts of road-runners, pack-rats, cactus-wrens, bighorns, rattlesnakes, lizards, tortoises and other mammals, birds, reptiles and insects as he has encountered them in the desert. Even to most sportsmen and naturalists a great deal of this information will be entirely new.

Other Timely Volumes

Income-Tax Procedure: 1923. By Robert H. Montgomery. The Ronald Press Company. 1911 pp.

During the past ten years Congress has enacted not less than five Federal Income Tax laws, and each one of these has seemed to the average taxpayer more complicated and harder to understand than its predecessor. Commentaries like this volume by Mr. Montgomery have been demanded and urgently needed. The passage of the law of 1921 caused almost an entire re-writing of Mr. Montgomery's manual. The present edition, like its predecessors, gives complete and exact information on all the requirements of the law. There are also chapters on the Federal estate tax and the Federal capital stock tax. The introductory section of the book gives an interesting review and survey of the income tax as it has been administered in this country since 1913.

The American Labor Year Book: 1921-1922. Edited by Alexander Trachtenberg and Benjamin Glassberg. The Rand School of Social Science. 454 pp.

This year book—fourth in a series—summarizes

labor and social legislation, social and economic conditions, the progress of the labor movement in the United States, the international, social and coöperative movement abroad, and socialism and political radicalism in the United States. It gives much material on all of these subjects, which is otherwise not easily accessible.

Pictograms. Edited by Charles Fitzhugh Talman. No. 1. The Railroad Picture Book. Washington, D. C. (P. O. Box 840): The Pictogram Company. 32 pp. Ill.

In this first number of "Pictograms"—"The Railroad Picture Book"—there is an excellent collection of views illustrating almost every phase of American railroad operation and development. Pictures have been assembled and arranged in an orderly way, with a view to the most effective display. The text descriptions also have been prepared with care, dealing only with essential features and making no attempt to burden the reader's mind with technical details. This number of pictograms is entertaining and at the same time has a distinct educational value. It might be used to good advantage in schools. The price of this booklet is 25 cents.

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